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FLAGS OF THE WORLD

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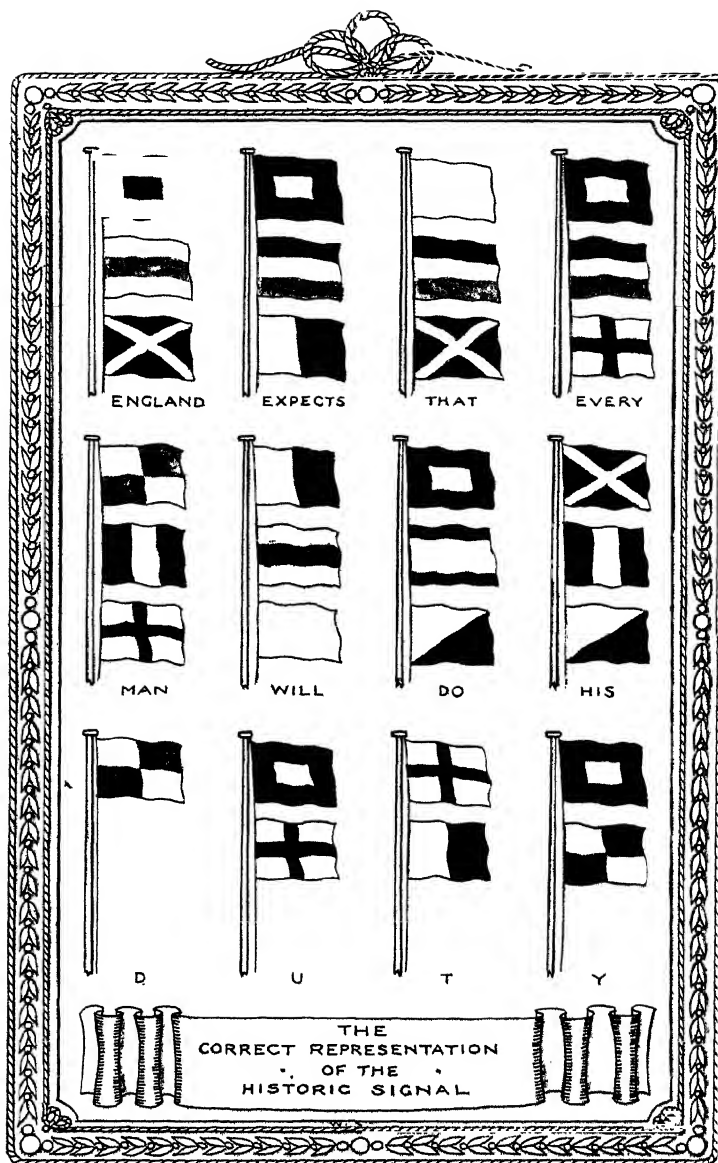


PLATE I.
NELSON'S SIGNAL AT TRAFALGAR.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|------|
| 1. | England, | 253. |
| 2. | Expects, | 269. |
| 3. | That, | 863. |
| 4. | Every, | 261. |
| 5. | Man, | 471. |
| 6. | Will, | 958. |
| 7. | Do, | 220 |
| 8. | His, | 370. |
| 9. | D, | 4. |
| 10. | U, | 21. |
| 11. | T, | 19. |
| 12. | Y. | 24. |

FLAGS OF THE WORLD

PAST AND PRESENT

THEIR STORY AND ASSOCIATIONS

BY

W. J. GORDON

Author of "The Way of the World at Sea" etc:

WITH OVER 500 ILLUSTRATIONS BY

W. J. STOKOE



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PREFACE

THERE is no more interesting subject than flags to old and young, and none so little known to the majority owing to there being no general guide to their story and associations, personal, historical and heraldic. Even our national flag has only of late years been talked about in our Council Schools as has been done for years in the United States of America where every public school flies the flag which developed so strangely from that of the East India Company as told herein, with all the missing links for the first time supplied.

Every one should know the history and meaning of the Royal Standard and the Union, the difference between personal flags and national flags and between an ensign and a jack, and also the glorious record of the honours on our regimental colours and the badges of Greater Britain met with afloat and ashore all round the world ; and surely something is desirable regarding the flags of foreign nations beyond a hazy acquaintance with a few of them and the limited knowledge of flag etiquette that leads to so many unintentional breaches of courtesy.

Of late years much new matter on the subject of flags has been rendered available to students of the national records, particularly as regards signalling, a mystery on which the strangest opinions are held. Hardly any one knows how it originated and became the complicated system it seems to be ; whence the

large space devoted to flag-signalling in these pages wherein for the first time the full story is told.

Another and more noticeable feature will be found in the coloured plates. Pictures of flags ought at least to be accurate not only in colour but proportion, and the shapes that are obsolete should not appear again and again, for flags, like all things else, alter to suit a change of conditions. How many people are there who know, or would ever know from the coloured sheets, that ensigns were once a quarter as long again as their width, then half as long again, and now are twice as long, the length having increased with the increase of speed and the change of rig limiting the space from which they are flown? This is a point of much importance to which Mr. W. J. Stokoe in his admirable illustrations has given special attention, his drawings of existing flags being all in accordance with the official measurements.

The late Mr. F. E. Hulme, F.S.A., in his volume issued some twenty-five years ago under the same title as this work, dealt very ably and fully with the antiquarian side of the subject, and acknowledgment is due for such points as the introductory chapter of the present volume owes to his research. But the important changes that have arisen during the lengthy period since the issue of Mr. Hulme's book have necessitated an entirely new presentation, both textually and pictorially, in the endeavour to ensure that accuracy of detail demanded by the public of to-day.

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CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. INTRODUCTORY | 1 |
| II. THE ROYAL STANDARD AND OUR NATIONAL FLAGS | 37 |
| III. FLAGS OF THE NAVY, ARMY, AND PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS | 72 |
| IV. FLAGS OF GREATER BRITAIN | 101 |
| V. MUNICIPAL FLAGS | 112 |
| VI. CLUB FLAGS AND HOUSE FLAGS | 119 |
| VII. SIGNAL FLAGS | 139 |
| VIII. AMERICAN FLAGS | 182 |
| IX. FLAGS OF AFRICA AND ASIA | 210 |
| X. EUROPEAN FLAGS | 219 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

PAGE

I. NELSON'S SIGNAL AT TRAFALGAR *Frontispiece*

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. England, 253 | 7. Do, 220 |
| 2. Expects, 269 | 8. His, 370 |
| 3. That, 863 | 9. D, 4 |
| 4. Every, 261 | 10. U, 21 |
| 5. Man, 471 | 11. T, 19 |
| 6. Will, 958 | 12. Y, 24 |

II. BANNERS AND STANDARDS 10

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Banner of St. Edmund | 5. Percy Standard |
| 2. Banner of St. Edward | 6. Stafford Standard |
| 3. Banner of St. Alban | 7. Douglas Standard |
| 4. Banner of De Montfort | |

III. BANNERS FROM THE ROLL OF CARLAVEROCK 15

1. Sir John Botetourte (Admiral of the Fleet of Edward II)
2. Sir Ralph de Monthermer (Earl of Gloucester and Hertford)
3. Sir Emlam Touches
4. Sir William de Rider, Banneret
5. Sir Hugh Bardolf (Lord of Wirmegey)
6. Sir John de Holdeston
7. Sir Henri de Percy (Lord of Topclive)
8. Sir Hugh de Courtenay (Earl of Devon)
9. Sir Aymer de Valence (Earl of Pembroke)
10. Sir John de Bar
11. Sir William Grandison

IV. OBSOLETE FLAGS 25

| | |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. London Trained Bands. Blue Regiment | 5. Commonwealth, 1651 |
| 2. London Trained Bands. Green Regiment | 6. Papal States |
| 3. London Trained Bands. Yellow Regiment | 7. Guinea Company |
| 4. Admiral's Flag, 1649 | 8. Heligoland |
| | 9. Savoy |
| | 10. Anti-Mutiny Flag (H.M.S. Niger) |

| PLATE | PAGE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| V. THE ROYAL STANDARD AND THE ADMIRALTY | 38 |
| 1. The Royal Standard 2. The Standard of England 3. The Standard of Scotland 4. The Standard of Ireland 5. The Admiralty Flag | 6. Admiral's Flag 7. Vice-Admiral's Flag 8. Rear-Admiral's Flag 9. Commodore's Flag 10. The White Pennant |
| VI. OUR NATIONAL FLAG AND ITS DEVELOPMENT | 57 |
| 1. National Flag of England 2. National Flag of Scotland 3. Old British Union (prior to 1801) 4. St. George's Cross | 5. St. Andrew's Cross 6. St. Patrick's Cross 7. National Flag of the British Empire |
| VII. ENSIGNS AND PENNANTS | 64 |
| 1. English White Ensign 2. English Red Ensign 3. Scottish Red Ensign 4. Scottish Blue Ensign 5. British White Ensign | 6. British Red Ensign 7. British Blue Ensign 8. The Red Pennant 9. The Blue Pennant |
| VIII. ROYAL BADGES | 75 |
| 1. Richard I.—Pheon 2. Richard I.—Star and crescent 3. Edward II.—Castle of Castle 4. Edward III.—Feather 5. Edward III.—Fleur-de-lis 6. Richard II.—Rising sun 7. Richard II.—White hart | 8. Henry IV.—Red rose 9. Henry VI.—Two feathers 10. Edward IV.—White rose 11. Edward IV.—Falcon and fetterlock 12. Henry VII.—Tudor rose 13. Henry VII.—Portcullis 14. Anne—Rose, shamrock and thistle |
| IX. BADGES OF REGIMENTAL COLOURS—I | 78 |
| 1. Castle of Inniskilling (6th Dragoons) 2. Castle of Inniskilling (R.I.F.) 3. Castle of Exeter 4. Castle of Edinburgh 5. Castle of Gibraltar 6. Dragon rampant 7. Dragon passant 8. Dragon, Chinese 9. White Horse of Hanover | 10. Royal Tiger 11. Elephant 12. Elephant caparisoned 13. Elephant with howdah 14. Sphinx 15. Paschal Lamb 16. Cat and Boar 17. Antelope 18. Lion of England |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xi

| PLATE | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| X. MILITARY FLAGS—1 | 80 |
| 1. Guidon of the Royal Scots Greys | |
| 2. Standard of the King's Dragoon Guards | |
| 3. War Office; Ordnance Flag | |
| XI. MILITARY FLAGS—2. | 89 |
| 1. Regimental Colour, 4th Battalion The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) | |
| 2. Camp Colour of the Highland Light Infantry | |
| 3. Signalling Flag for dark backgrounds | |
| 4. Signalling Flag for light backgrounds | |
| 5. Saluting Colour of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment | |
| 6. Lance pennon | |
| XII. BADGES OF REGIMENTAL COLOURS—2 | 97 |
| 1. Britannia | 10. Mural crown |
| 2. George and Dragon | 11. Naval crown |
| 3. Prince of Wales's plume | 12. Grenade |
| 4. Lion on crown | 13. Death's head |
| 5. Garter star | 14. White rose in star |
| 6. St. Patrick star | 15. Nassau arms |
| 7. St. Andrew | 16. Duke of Wellington's crest |
| 8. Crown and thistle | 17. White Rousillon feather |
| 9. Harp and crown | 18. Maple leaf |
| XIII. DEPARTMENTAL FLAGS | 98 |
| 1. Commissioners of Irish Lights | 8. North Sea Fishery Guard |
| 2. Lords Lieutenant | 9. Customs Ensign |
| 3. Royal Mail | 10. Trinity House Master's Flag |
| 4. City of London | 11. Thames Conservancy |
| 5. Commissioners of Customs | 12. Commissioners of Northern Lights |
| 6. County of Middlesex | |
| 7. Port of London | |
| XIV. GREATER BRITAIN AND PROTECTED STATES | 103 |
| 1. Dominion of Canada | 8. Negri Sembilan |
| 2. Commonwealth of Australia | 9. Federated Malay States, Ensign |
| 3. Dominion of New Zealand | 10. Federated Malay States, Jack |
| 4. Union of South Africa | 11. Sarawak |
| 5. Perak | 12. Tonga |
| 6. Pahang | 13. Rarotonga |
| 7. Selangor | |

| PLATE | | PAGE |
|--------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| XV. | BADGES AND HOW THEY ARE BORNE . . . | 104 |
| | 1. Viceroy of India | 4. Indian Marine |
| | 2. Governor-General of Australia | 5. Isle of Man |
| | 3. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland | 6. Jersey |
| | | 7. Guernsey |
| XVI. | BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—1 . . . | 107 |
| | 1. Manitoba | 8. British Honduras |
| | 2. Nova Scotia | 9. Jamaica |
| | 3. Ontario | 10. Bahamas |
| | 4. Quebec | 11. Turk's Islands |
| | 5. New Brunswick | 12. British Columbia |
| | 6. Newfoundland | 13. Prince Edward Island |
| | 7. Bermuda | |
| XVII. | BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—2 . . . | 108 |
| | 1. Leeward Islands | 8. British Guiana |
| | 2. Windward Islands | 9. Falkland Islands |
| | 3. St. Lucia | 10. West Africa |
| | 4. St. Vincent | 11. St. Helena |
| | 5. Barbados | 12. Cape Colony |
| | 6. Grenada | 13. Natal |
| | 7. Trinidad | |
| XVIII. | BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—3 . . . | 109 |
| | 1. Orange River Colony | 8. New South Wales |
| | 2. Rhodesia | 9. Victoria |
| | 3. Transvaal | 10. Queensland |
| | 4. British East Africa | 11. South Australia |
| | 5. Somaliland | 12. Western Australia |
| | 6. Nyasaland | 13. Tasmania |
| | 7. Seychelles | |
| XIX. | BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—4 . . . | 110 |
| | 1. Papua | 8. Fiji |
| | 2. Weihaiwei | 9. Ceylon |
| | 3. Western Pacific | 10. Mauritius |
| | 4. Hong Kong | 11. Malta |
| | 5. North Borneo | 12. Cyprus |
| | 6. Straits Settlements | 13. Gibraltar |
| | 7. Labuan | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

| PLATE | PAGE |
|---------------------------|------|
| XX. YACHT FLAGS | 129 |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Ensign, The Yacht Club, 1815 | 9. Burgee, Royal Yorkshire |
| 2. Ensign, Royal Irish Yacht Club | 10. Burgee, Royal Cork |
| 3. Burgee, Royal Yacht Squadron | 11. Burgee, Royal Clyde |
| 4. Burgee, Royal St. George | 12. Burgee, Royal Northern |
| 5. Burgee, Royal Thames | 13. Racing Flag, Britannia |
| 6. Burgee, Royal Highland | 14. Racing Flag, Carriad |
| 7. Burgee, Royal London | 15. Racing Flag, Lufra |
| 8. Burgee, Royal Dorset | 16. Racing Flag, Waterwitch |
| | 17. Racing Flag, Julnar |
| | 18. Racing Flag, Foxglove |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|
| XXI. HOUSE FLAGS OF BRITISH LINERS | 136 |
|----------------------------------------------|-----|

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. The Jack of the Mercantile Marine | 9. Cunard Line |
| 2. Wilson Line | 10. Aberdeen Line |
| 3. Moss Line | 11. Union-Castle Line |
| 4. Royal Mail Steam Packet Company | 12. Houlder Line |
| 5. Shaw, Savill & Co. | 13. Harrison Line |
| 6. Canadian Pacific Railway | 14. Clan Line |
| 7. China Merchant Co. | 15. Blue Funnel Line |
| 8. Peninsular and Oriental Co. | 16. British India Company |
| | 17. White Star Line |
| | 18. Anchor Line |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| XXII. SIGNAL FLAGS—ROYAL NAVY | 153 |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|

Signalling flags now used in the Royal Navy;
signification changeable at any time.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| XXIII. SIGNALS—INTERNATIONAL CODE—AND PILOT FLAGS | 160 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Code Pennant | 35. Speed Trial, A |
| 2 to 27. Flags A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z | 36. Russian pilot |
| 28. Yes, C | 37. Want a pilot, P T |
| 29. No, D | 38. Argentine pilot |
| 30. Infection, L | 39. Greek pilot |
| 31. Powder, B | 40. Brazilian pilot |
| 32. Proceeding to sea, P | 41. Norwegian Coast pilot |
| 33. Pilot's Call, S | 42. Ecuadorian pilot |
| 34. British pilot | 43. Portuguese pilot |
| | 44. Swedish pilot |
| | 45. Danish pilot |

| PLATE | PAGE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| XXIV. EXAMPLES OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNALS . . . | 177 |
| Two-letter Signals— | |
| 1. In distress, want immediate assistance, N C | |
| 2. Man overboard, B R | |
| 3. Have received the following communication from your owner, I A | |
| 4. Forward my communication by telegraph and pay for transmission, H Y | |
| 5. I have Government despatches, J S | |
| Three-letter Signals— | |
| 6. Longitude 180 degrees, Code pennant K P | |
| 7. It is very kind of you, Q A W | |
| 8. No boat fit for work, Z H V | |
| 9. Pirate, T K P | |
| 10. It can be done, B N K | |
| 11. No. 1, U B Code pennant | |
| 12. Cargo not yet sold, I B A | |
| 13. Every exertion has been made, M I V | |
| 14. Make haste, O N S | |
| 15. Your port of destination is closed ; your owners desire you to proceed to, K X J | |
| Four-letter Signals— | |
| 16. London, A E H V | |
| 17. Hull (Massachusetts), B A H J | |
| 18. Annam, A N V W | |
| 19. R.M.S. Oroya, K J R H | |
| 20. R.M.S. Victoria, L S H R | |
| XXV. AMERICAN FLAGS—THE UNITED STATES . . . | 184 |
| 1. National Flag | |
| 2. Flag of the East India Company, known in America as the Cambridge Flag | |
| 3. The Liberty Tree | |
| 4. The Old Red Ensign with motto | |
| 5. The Pine Tree and Stripes | |
| 6. First form of the Stars and Stripes | |
| 7. Flag of the U.S. Frigate Chesapeake | |
| 8. Confederate Stars and Bars | |
| 9. Confederate Southern Cross | |
| 10. Warship Pennant | |
| XXVI. AMERICAN FLAGS—CENTRAL AMERICA . . . | 203 |
| 1. Honduras | 7. Panama |
| 2. Hayti | 8. Dominican Republic |
| 3. Salvador | 9. Colombia |
| 4. Costa Rica | 10. Nicaragua |
| 5. Cuba | 11. Guatemala |
| 6. Mexico | 12. Guatemala, 1851 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xv

| PLATE | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| XXVII. AMERICAN FLAGS—SOUTH AMERICA . . . | 206 |
| 1. Brazil, Ensign | 7. Peru |
| 2. Brazil, Admiral's Flag | 8. Bolivia |
| 3. Chile, Ensign | 9. Uruguay |
| 4. Chile, Jack | 10. Paraguay |
| 5. Argentina, Ensign | 11. Venezuela |
| 6. Argentina, Jack | |
| XXVIII. FLAGS OF AFRICA AND ASIA . . . | 213 |
| 1. Siam | 7. Japan, Jack |
| 2. Liberia | 8. Japan, Mail |
| 3. Persia | 9. Korea |
| 4. China | 10. Congo. |
| 5. Japan, Standard | 11. Egypt. |
| 6. Japan, Ensign | 12. Turkey |
| XXIX. EUROPEAN FLAGS—1 | 227 |
| 1. The First French Tricolour | |
| 2. Military Flag of 1790 | |
| 3. Flag of the Regiment of Champagne | |
| 4. Flag of the 12th Demi-Brigade | |
| 5. The First Oriflamme | |
| 6. National Flag of France | |
| 7. Oriflamme of the Hundred Years War | |
| 8. Standard of Charles VI | |
| 9. Flag of Louis XII showing "the Cross of France" | |
| 10. Flag of the Soissons Regiment | |
| 11. Flag flown by submarines | |
| 12. Warship Pennant | |
| XXX. EUROPEAN FLAGS—2 | 230 |
| 1. Spain, Warship | 7. Italy, Admiral's Flag |
| 2. Spain, Merchant | 8. Italy, Jack |
| 3. Spain, Mail | 9. Italy, National Flag |
| 4. Portugal, Jack | 10. Switzerland |
| 5. Portugal, Ensign | 11. Geneva Cross |
| 6. Old Portuguese Ensign | 12. Monaco |
| XXXI. EUROPEAN FLAGS—3 | 235 |
| 1. Austria, Ensign | 8. Bulgaria |
| 2. Austria-Hungary, Ensign | 9. Poland |
| 3. Hungary, Ensign | 10. Rumania |
| 4. Greece | 11. Crete |
| 5. Samos | 12. Norway and Sweden, Old Union |
| 6. Serbia | |
| 7. Montenegro | |

| PLATE | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| XXXII. EUROPEAN FLAGS—4 | 238 |
| 1. Russia, Ensign | 8. Norway, Ensign |
| 2. Russia, Jack | 9. Norway, Merchant |
| 3. Russia, Merchant | 10. Holland |
| 4. Germany, Ensign | 11. Belgium |
| 5. Germany, Merchant | 12. Denmark |
| 6. Sweden, Ensign | 13. Denmark, Commodore. |
| 7. Sweden, Merchant | |

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

| | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------|------|
| Counterchange of St. Patrick's Cross. | 64 |
| Southern Cross | 107 |
| Maltese Cross | 111 |
| The Chape of St. Martin | 219 |
| Banner of Joan of Arc | 223 |
| Ship of Paris | 224 |
| Spanish Jack | 228 |
| Flag of Montenegro | 234 |
| Royal Standard of Norway | 237 |
| Flag of Bremen | 239 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

SYMBOLS are sacred things: and one of the chief that every man holds dear is the national flag. Deep down in our nature is the strong emotion that swells the heart and brings the tear and makes us follow the flag and die round it rather than let it fall into the hands of an enemy. This is no new emotion, no growth of a few generations, but an inheritance from the ages before history began.

When man became what we know as man the need of a token distinguishing family from family occurred to him, leading him on to totemism, which in some of its aspects is practically heraldic. A special sign by which he could be known from others must have been adopted early; and from this, as a generalization of the totem, came the tribal symbols which in time developed into those distinctive of nations and took the form of the insignia from which we eventually derived our flags.

Around these venerable symbols memories gathered which made them emblems of the triumphs and sacrifices of the community: and the influence remains. We salute the Colours as we salute the King as the personification of the State. The Union Jack, the Tricolour, the Stars and Stripes, the Dannebrog are the pride of those born beneath them and tell of the glories of the

past, the hopes of the future, and the duty, if need be, to die for the people of which the flag is the symbol.

The earlier national symbols were ordinary images or badges wrought in metal, stone or wood, and carried at the top of a pole or spear. Thus the host of Egypt marched to war beneath the sacred emblems of their gods or the fan of feathers of the Pharaohs, while the Assyrian insignia were circular discs bearing devices such as a running bull or two bulls tail to tail, both these and the Egyptian having occasionally in addition a small streamer attached to the staff immediately below the device. The Greeks in like manner used symbols of their deities such as the owl of Athens, or legendary animals like the pegasus of Corinth, the minotaur of Crete, the bull of Bœotia, and, strangest of all, the tortoise of the Peloponnesus, though Homer makes Agamemnon use a purple veil as a rallying signal.

The sculptures of Persepolis show us that the Persians adopted the figures of the sun, the eagle and the like which in time were replaced by the blacksmith's apron. In Rome the original standard was the simple wisp of straw which has now come so low in the world as to be used by our roadmenders and hung under our bridges as a sign of no thoroughfare. Under the later Dictators this gave place to a hand erect ; or the figure of a horse or wolf or other animal was used until the eagle alone was adopted. Pliny tells us that Marius in his second consulship ordered that the Roman legions should have the eagle only as their standard. " For before that time the eagle marched foremost with four others, wolves, minotaurs, horses and bears, each one in its proper order. Not many years passed before the eagle alone began to be advanced and the rest left behind in the camp. But Marius rejected them altogether, and since then there has rarely been a camp of a legion in winter quarters

without a pair of eagles"—the eagle being the bird of Jove.

There were, however, other insignia. The vexillum or cavalry flag was according to Livy a square piece of textile material fixed to a cross-bar at the end of a spear, often richly fringed and either plain or with devices, and was undoubtedly a flag; and the insignia which distinguished the allied forces from the Roman legions were also more or less flags, as may be seen on the sculptured columns of Trajan and Antonine, the arch of Titus, and many coins and medals of ancient Rome. Later on the Romans adopted for their auxiliaries the dragon of Parthia which in time became the standard of the Emperors of the West and the origin of the golden dragon of Wessex and the red dragon of Wales. The Jutes carried the rampant white horse, at first as an image, which became the flag of the Men of Kent; the Danes carried the raven, also at first as an image and then as a flag which when captured in 878 was a small triangular banner, fringed, bearing a black raven on a blood-red field. The Gauls fought under a carved lion, bull or bear until they adopted the Roman eagle. The Imperial Standard or Labarum of Constantine and his successors resembled the cavalry vexillum. It was of purple silk richly embroidered with gold, and, though generally hung from a horizontal cross-bar like that we now know as a banner, was in later days occasionally displayed in accordance with present usage by attaching one of the sides to a staff—a style adopted from the Saracens.

The Roman standards were guarded with religious veneration in the temples of the chief cities, and, after Christianity was adopted, and particularly after the emperor's portrait appeared on them, in the churches; and modern practice follows ancient precedent. At the presentation of colours to a regiment a solemn service of

prayer and praise is held, for which there is a special service book, and when they return in honour, torn and tattered from victorious conflict, they are reverently deposited in some church or public building, such as the forty in Edinburgh cathedral, never to be removed until nothing is left but the staff on which they were borne.

The Israelites, besides their tribal devices, carried the sacred standard of the Maccabees with the initial letters of the Hebrew text, "Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods?" The Emperor Constantine caused the sacred monogram of Christ (the Ch R, being the two first letters of Christos) to be placed on the Labarum which when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their armies was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople. The sacred standard of the Turks, fabled to have been given to Mohammed by the angel Gabriel, was used by the prophet as a curtain which, when he was dying, was torn down by Ayesha and given by her to serve as the chief banner of Islam, and it is still preserved, being of green silk on a pole surmounted by a golden hand that holds a copy of the Korân. Pope Alexander II sent a consecrated white banner to William of Normandy previous to his expedition against Harold, and the Normans fought under it at Hastings; and when the armies of Christendom went forth to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel they received their banners from the foot of the altar. For centuries banners were so consecrated and delivered, the practice being familiar to many as the motive of Longfellow's *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns* :—

"Take thy banner! May it wave
Proudly o'er the good and brave;
When the battle's distant wail
Breaks the sabbath of our vale,

When the clarion's music thrills
To the hearts of these lone hills,
When the spear in conflict shakes,
And the strong lance shivering breaks.

Take thy banner! and, beneath
The battle-cloud's encircling wreath,
Guard it!—till our homes are free!
Guard it!—God will prosper thee!
In the dark and trying hour,
In the breaking forth of power,
In the rush of steeds and men,
His right hand will shield thee then.

Take thy banner! But, when night
Closes round the ghastly fight,
If the vanquished warrior bow,
Spare him!—By our holy vow,
By our prayers and many tears,
By the mercy that endears,
Spare him!—he our love hath shared:
Spare him!—as thou wouldst be spared!"

This recognition of the King of kings led to the captured banners of the enemy being at first placed over the tombs of victorious generals, and, later, hung in gratitude and thanksgiving in our churches and town-halls. Thus Speed tells us that on the dispersal and defeat of the Armada, Queen Elizabeth commanded solemn thanksgiving to be celebrated at St. Paul's, which was done on Sunday, the 8th of September, when eleven of the Spanish ensigns were hung, to the great joy of the beholders, as "psalmes of praise" for England's deliverance from peril. Very appropriately, too, in the chapel of Chelsea Hospital, the home of the old soldiers who helped to win them, were hung the flags taken at Martinique, Seringapatam, Barrosa, Salamanca, Waterloo and many another hard-fought struggle. At the United Service Museum there are quite a number of captured flags; and in like manner

the tomb of Napoleon I is surrounded, although on March 30th, 1814, the evening before the entry of the allies into Paris, about 1,500 flags—the trophies of Napoleon—were burnt in the courtyard of the Invalides to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

The first reference to banners in England is in Bede's description of the interview between King Ethelbert and St. Augustine where the followers of the latter are said to have borne "a silver cross for a banner"—clearly showing that banners were then in use but St. Augustine did not have one. Banners of this type were formerly part of the usual ornaments of the altar and are still largely used to add to the pomp of religious processions. Heraldic and political devices upon flags are of later date, and even when these came freely into vogue they did not supplant ecclesiastical symbols. The banners of the original orders of Knighthood belong to the religious group. That of the Knights Hospitallers was a silver cross on a black field. The Templars carried before them to battle a banner black over white horizontal which they called *Beauséant* "because they were fair and favourable to the friends of Christ but black and terrible to His enemies." The Teutonic Knights bore the black cross *patée* on a white field which survives in the Iron Cross.

The national banner of England for centuries—the red cross of her patron St. George—was a religious one, and whatever other banners were carried this was the first in the field. The royal banner of Great Britain and Ireland in its rich blazonry of the lions of England and Scotland and the Irish harp, is a good example of the heraldic flag, while our Union Flag similarly symbolizes the three nations of the United Kingdom by the allied crosses, two of which are the old crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, the third being the saltire assigned to St. Patrick in the seventeenth century.

Ecclesiastical flags were often purely pictorial in character, being actual representations of the Trinity, the Madonna, or different saints. At other times the religious houses bore banners heraldic in character as the chiefs of the church were lords temporal, in respect of many of their possessions, as well as lords spiritual, and took their places by self or deputy among the fighting men at the head of the retainers they were required to maintain in aid of the national defence. In such cases the distinguishing banner of the contingent conformed in character to the banners of the other barons. In a ballad on the capture of Rouen by the English, in the year 1418 written by an eye-witness of the scenes described, we read how the English commander—

“To the Castelle firste he rode
And sythen the citie all abrode,
Lengthe and brede he it mette
And riche baneres up he sette
Upon the Porte Saint Hillare
A Baner of the TrynYTE;
And at Porte Kaux he sette evene
A Baner of the Quene of Heven;
And at Porte Martvile he upplyt
Of Seint George a Baner breight;”

and not until this recognition of saintly aid was made did

“He sette upon the Castelle to stonde
The armys of Fraunce and Englund.”

Henry V at Agincourt in like manner displayed on the field not only his own arms but in special prominence the banners of the Trinity, St. George and St. Edward. Such banners of religious significance were often borne from the monasteries to the field of battle while monks in attendance on them invoked the aid of Heaven during

the combat. In an old statement of accounts we read that Edward I made a payment of eightpence halfpenny per day to a priest of Beverley for carrying throughout one of his campaigns a banner bearing the figure of the St John, Bishop of York, who founded that monastery. This banner with those of St. Wilfrid from Ripon and St. Peter from York, all three displayed from a ship's mast fitted into a four-wheeled caroccio, were brought on to the field at Northallerton and constituted the standard from which that battle derived its name. At the battle of Lewes also Simon de Montfort displayed his standard from a pole rising from a car. The banner of St. Denis, the original oriflamme, was carried in the armies of St. Louis and Philip the Fair; and the banner of St. Cuthbert of Durham was borrowed by the Earl of Surrey and borne at Flodden where it so nearly lost its reputation of assuring victory to those who fought under it. It was suspended from a horizontal bar below a spear-head, and was a yard or so in breadth and a little more in depth, the lower edge having five deep indentations. The material was red velvet sumptuously enriched with gold embroidery, and in the centre was a piece of white velvet half a yard square having a cross of red velvet on it, the central portion protecting a relic of the saint. It had been in action before, at Neville's Cross where it is said to have done wonders for Queen Philippa.

In the old days religious banners were used at the obsequies of persons of distinction: thus at the burial of Arthur, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of Henry VII, we find a banner of the Trinity, another with the cross and instruments of the Passion depicted upon it; another of the Virgin Mary, and yet another with a representation of St. George. Such banners were ordinarily four in number, and carried at the four corners of the bier. Thus we read in the diary of Machyn who lived in the

reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, that at the burial of the Countess of Arundel, October 27th, 1557, "cam iiij herroldes in ther cotes of armes, and bare iiij baners of emages at the iiij corners." Again, on "Aprill xxix, 1554, was bered my Lady Dudley in Saint Margarette in Westminster, with iiij baners of emages." Another item deals with the funeral of the Duchess of Northumberland, and here again "the iiij baners of ymages" again occur. Anyone having old records before them would find it easy enough to multiply illustrations of this use of pictured banners. These "emages" or "ymages" of old Machyn are of course not images in the sense of sculptured or carved things, but painted and embroidered representations of various saints.

A standard is that which stands by itself, as an upright post or pole, and the word came to be used as descriptive of the flag which flew from it, just as the Union Jack derives its name from the jack, or small upright spar in the ship's bows, from which it was originally flown as leading the ship into action. In England the term became applied to any flag of noble size that had the Cross of St. George next to the staff, with the rest of the flag divided horizontally into two or more stripes of colours, these being the prevailing colours in the arms of the bearers, or their livery colours, the edge of the standard being richly fringed or bordered, the motto and badges of the owner introduced, and the length considerably in excess of the breadth. Such standards were in use chiefly during the fifteenth century, though examples of earlier and later date are met with. In the Percy standard, for instance, the blue lion, the crescents, and the fetterlocks are all family badges, while the silver key shows relationship by marriage with the Poynings, the bugle-horn with the Bryans, and the falchion with the Fitzpaynes. The old badge of the Percies was the white lion statant—

“Who, in field or foray slack,
Saw the blanch lion e’er give back?”

—but Henry Percy, the fifth earl, turned it from white into blue. The silver crescent is the only badge of the family that has remained in continuous use, and we find frequent references to it in the old ballads.

The motto was an important part of the standard, though it is occasionally omitted. Its less or greater length or its repetition may cut up the surface of the flag into any number of spaces; the first space after the cross being always occupied by the most important badge, and in a few cases the spaces beyond being empty.

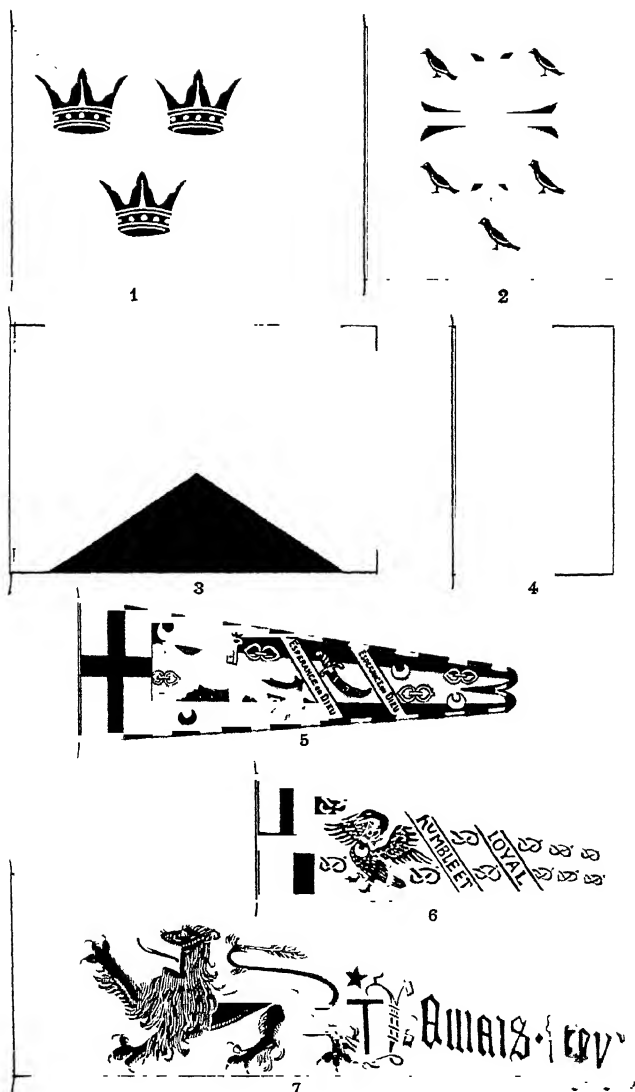
Standards in the true heraldic sense were not used until the reign of Edward III, who adopted as his own the royal arms with the blue field of the French quarter extended along to the end bearing a row of golden lilies, the red of the English quarter being similarly continued bearing a row of passant golden lions. Though exceptions are rare a standard is not necessarily of two colours, one above the other, nor is it always edged. The rule is laid down in the Harleian Manuscripts No. 2358 that “every standard or guydhome is to hang in the chiefe the Crosse of St. George, to be slitte at the ende, and to conteyne the crest or supporter, with the poesy, worde and devise of the owner,” but standards were not always “slitte” at the end, for a few are found which were evidently pointed.

There is at the College of Arms a drawing of the standard of Sir Henry de Stafford, K.G., which is strictly in accordance with the description. It is charged with the banner of St. George, and, on a black over red field, has the white swan of the Bohuns with a ruddy crescent on the swan’s breast as a mark of cadency, three silver Stafford knots and the motto “Humble et Loyal,” and eight more knots

PLATE II.

BANNERS AND STANDARDS.

1. Banner of St. Edmund.
2. Banner of St. Edward.
3. Banner of St. Alban.
4. Banner of De Montfort.
5. Percy Standard.
6. Stafford Standard.
7. Douglas Standard.



and a black and red edging or fringe. The cross of St. George is in all cases significant, showing that the bearer was first and foremost an Englishman.

Our mention of the Percy standard reminds us that one of the oldest flags in existence, the very standard of the Douglas at the battle of Otterburn, that is Chevy Chase, in 1388, is still in the possession of Douglas of Cavers at the family seat in Roxburghshire together with the trophy won on that occasion from Sir Henry Percy, known to us generally as Harry Hotspur, when he was surrounded and captured with his brother Ralph instead of being killed as in the ballad. It bears the saltire, the bleeding heart, the lion of Galloway and the silver star.

This standard is known as the Douglas Banner, which is not according to English usage, but the words were often used as synonyms though the two flags were distinct. Richard II, for instance, not only flew the royal banner, that is the royal standard now so called, but had a personal standard of his own—white and green, a white hart couchant between four golden suns, the motto “*Dieu et mon droit*,” with two golden suns in the next space and four in the next. Henry V also had two, the personal one being white and blue, a white antelope standing between four red roses, the motto “*Dieu et mon droit*,” and in the interspaces more red roses. Edward IV had a white lion and six white roses. While no one could have more than one banner, this being composed of his heraldic arms, the same individual might have two or three standards, these being mainly made up of badges he could multiply at discretion, and a motto or poesy he might change every day. Hence the standards of Henry VII were mostly green and white, which were the Tudor livery colours; or else white over blue edged with white and blue; in one was “a red firy dragon,” in another “was peinted a donne kowe,” in another the white swan of Bohun, while

yet another had a silver greyhound between red roses. Stow and others tell us that the two first of these were borne at Bosworth Field, and that after his victory there over Richard III these were borne in solemn state to St. Paul's, and there deposited.

We have seen that the pomp of funerals led to the use of pictorial flags from churches and abbeys, and with these were associated others that dealt with the rank and position of the deceased. Thus we find Edmonson writing as follows :—" The armorial ensigns, as fixed by the officers of arms, and through long and continued usage, established as proper to be carried in funeral processions, are pennons, guidons, cornets, standards, banners and banner-rolls, having thereon depicted the arms, quarterings, badges, crests, supporters and devices of the defunct : together with all such other trophies of honour as in his lifetime he was entitled to display, carry, or wear in the field ; banners charged with the armorial ensigns of such dignities, titles, offices, civil and military, as were possessed or enjoyed by the defunct at the time of his decease, and banner-rolls of his own matches and lineal descent both on the paternal and maternal side. In case the defunct was an archbishop, banner-rolls of the arms and insignia of the sees to which he had been elected and translated, and if he was a merchant or eminent trader, pennons of the particular city, corporation, guild, fraternity, craft, or company whereof he had been a member."

Unfortunately the names bestowed upon flags have varied from time to time, the various authorities differing in their definitions occasionally, so that, while the more salient forms are distinguishable, doubt creeps in when we endeavour to give a definite form to a name we meet with, particularly among the poets who have thought more of the general effect of the description and the necessities of rhyme and metre than of the accuracy of the terms they

have used. For instance Sir Walter Scott might have done better in his oft-quoted lines in *Marmion* :

“Nor marked they less, where in the air
A thousand streamers flaunted fair ;
Various in shape, device, and hue,
Green, sanguine, purple, red, and blue,
Broad, narrow, swallow-tailed, and square,
Scroll, pennon, pensil, bandrol, there
O'er the pavilions flew.”

Wherein the scroll is the narrow rectangular motto-ribbon which was never used by itself ; the pennon, and not the pensil, being the swallow-tail ; the pensil, that is the pencil, being the narrow pennant ; and the bandrol the banner-roll mentioned by Edmonson above, which was never flown over a tent. Happier he was by far in the lines that follow :

“Highest, and midmost, was descried
The royal banner, floating wide ;
The staff, a pine-tree strong and straight,
Pitched deeply in a massive stone,
Which still in memory is shown,
Yet bent beneath the standard's weight,
Whene'er the western wind unrolled,
With toil, the huge and cumbrous fold,
And gave to view the dazzling field,
Where, in proud Scotland's royal shield,
The ruddy Lion ramped in gold.”

The banner in the earlier days of chivalry was usually square, though, later, it may be found greater in length than in depth, and in some early examples is considerably greater in depth than in its width from the lance, that is in its hoist than in its fly. The size, at one period, varied with the rank of the owner.

According to an ancient authority the banner of an

emperor should be six feet square ; of a king, five ; of a prince or duke, four ; and of an earl, marquis, viscount, or baron three feet square. When we consider that the great function of the banner was to bear the coat-of-arms of its owner, and that this coat was emblazoned upon it and filled up its entire surface in just the same way that we find these charges represented upon his shield, it is evident that no form that departed far either in length or breadth from the proportions of the shield would be suitable for their display. Though heraldically it is allowable to compress or extend any form from its normal proportions when the exigencies of space demand, it is better to avoid this when possible.

The Rolls of Arms prepared on various occasions by the heralds form an admirable storehouse of examples. Some of these have been reproduced in facsimile, and are, therefore, more or less accessible, such as the roll of the arms of the spiritual and temporal peers who sat in Parliament in the year 1515, and the roll of Karlaverok. This Carlaverock, as Sir Harris Nicolas spells it, was the home of the Maxwells, Caerlaverock Castle, the Ellan-gowan of *Guy Mannering*, on the north side of Solway Firth at the mouth of the Nith, which it was necessary for Edward I to reduce on his invasion of Scotland in the year 1300 ; and its investment and all the details of the siege are minutely described by a contemporary writer, Walter of Exeter, the author of the romantic history of Guy Earl of Warwick about the year 1292 ; and he gives the arms and names of all the nobles engaged in it. This valuable old poem is written in Norman French of which the following passage is an example :—

“ La ont meinte riche garnement
Brode sur cendeaus et samis
Meint beau penon en lance mis
Meint baniere desploie.”

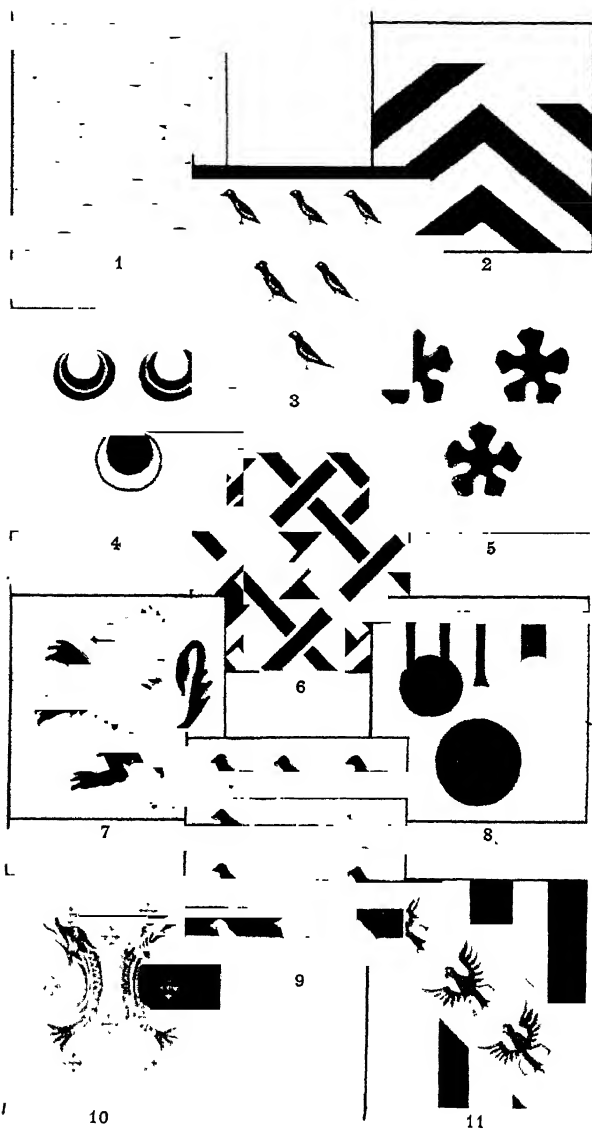


PLATE III.

BANNERS FROM THE ROLL OF CARLAVEROCK.

1. Sir John Botetourte (Admiral of the Fleet of Edward II)
2. Sir Râlp de Monthermer (Earl of Gloucester and Hertford)
3. Sir Emlam Touches.
4. Sir William de Rider, Banneret
5. Sir Hugh Bardolf (Lord of Wirmegey)
6. Sir John de Holdeston
7. Sir Henri de Percy (Lord of Topclive)
8. Sir Hugh de Courtenay (Earl of Devon)
9. Sir Aymer de Valence (Earl of Pembroke)
10. Sir John de Bar
11. Sir William Grandison.

That is to say, there were many rich devices embroidered on silks and satins, many a beautiful pennon fixed on lance, many a banner displayed.

Of these numerous banners—over a hundred of them—we will give a few examples. One belongs to him “who, with a light heart, doing good to all, bore a yellow banner, and pennon with a black saltire engrailed, was called John Botetourte,” afterwards admiral of the fleet of Edward II. Near it is the banner of Ralph de Monthermer, afterwards Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, the banner being the one he bore during the siege, which was that of Clare, the family whose honours he temporarily enjoyed, though he was attired in his own arms which were yellow with a green eagle. The six yellow martlets are the device of Emlam Touches, “a knight of good fame.” The blue “with crescents of brilliant gold,” was the banner of William de Rider, otherwise William de Rithre, banneret. Sir John de Holdeston, “who at all times appears well and promptly in arms,” bore the fretted silver on the red field; while the three gold cinquefoils distinguish the banner of Hugh Bardolf, “a man of great appearance, rich, valiant and courteous,” described as Lord of Wirmegey when a party to the letter from the barons to the Pope in 1301.

Prominent is the well known lion of the Percies which is here on the banner of Henri de Percy, styled Lord of Topcliffe in the same letter, who bought Alnwick Castle as a seat for the family. The red roundels are on the banner of “good Hugh de Courtenay,” afterwards Earl of Devon; and by its side is that of the valiant Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, whose tomb is in Westminster Abbey. Below are the barbels of John de Bar; and our last example is the banner of Sir William Grandison who was so prominent in the Scottish wars.

As soon as the castle fell into Edward's hands he caused

his banner and those of St. Edmund, St. George and St. Edward to be displayed on its battlements. His banner is duly emblazoned with the rest in the Roll and is what we should now call the Royal Standard, which is a misnomer. The Royal Standard correctly speaking is the Royal Banner, since it bears the arms of the Sovereign in precisely the same way as our examples bear the arms of the knights with whom the King associated, and especially in the case of Monthermer whose banner was that which went with his domains. A standard was an entirely different kind of flag, but the term in its modern meaning is too firmly established to be beyond alteration, and, like Union Jack, which is also a misnomer, must be accepted under protest with regret.

The whole area of the mainsail of a mediaeval ship was often emblazoned with arms and formed one large banner, as may be seen in the illuminations and seals of the period. As early as 1247 we find Otho, Count of Gueldres, represented as bearing on his seal a square banner charged with his arms, a lion rampant; and in a window in the cathedral at Chartres is a figure of one of the de Montforts holding in his hand a banner of red and white. The banners of the Knights of the Garter, richly emblazoned with their armorial bearings, are hung over their stalls in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, while those of the Knights of the Bath are similarly displayed in the chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, those of the Knights of St. Patrick in St. Patrick's Cathedral, and those of the Knights of St. Michael and St. George in St. Paul's. The knight's banner, like the pennon, was as dear to him as his honour, hence the caution in books of chivalry: "from a standard or streamer a man may flee, but not from his banner or pennon bearing his arms."

In *The Story of Thebes* we read of "the fell beastes"

that were "wrought and bete upon their banres displaied brode" when men went forth to war. Lydgate, in the *Battle of Agincourt* writes :—

"By myn baner sleyn will y be
Or y will turne my backe or me yelde";

and tells us that at the siege of Harfleur Henry V

"Mustred his meyn faire before the town,
And many other lordes, I dar will say,
With baners bryghte and many penoun."

And no one will forget Milton's fine lines :—

"All in a moment through the gloom were seen
Ten thousand banners rise into the air,
With orient colours waving."

The trumpets of our Household Cavalry have the Royal Banner attached to them, a survival recalling the lines of Chaucer :—

"On every trump hanging a brode bannere
Of fine tartarium, full richly bete";

or Shakespeare's Constable of France in *Henry the Fifth*—which is more to the point—

"I will a banner from a trumpet take,
And use it for my haste."

The use of these banners and other flags was to distinguish different bodies of troops and to serve as rallying points in time of danger; and when armies moved into action the effect must have been very imposing. At Buironfosse the English had 74 banners and 230 pennons, and the French 220 banners and 560 pennons; and Froissart observes, "it was a great beauty to behold the banners and standards waving in the wind, and

horses barded, and knights and squires richly armed." After the battle of Poitiers had been won, Chandos, according to Froissart said to the Black Prince, "Sir, it were good that you rested here and set your banner a-high in this bush, that your people may draw hither, for they be sore spread abroad, nor I can see no more banners nor pennons of the French party"—whereupon the banner was so set up and the trumpets and clarions began to sound. At the battle of Bouvines in 1214 Galon de Montigny who bore the banner of Philip Augustus drew attention to his master's imminent danger by continually raising and lowering the flag over the spot where the unequal combat was raging.

In the old chronicles and ballads many forms of flags are mentioned which are either obsolete or known under other names. The word flag is a generic one and cover all kinds. It has been said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon fleogan, to fly or float in the wind, but it is not only English, but Swedish and Danish and German and Dutch, and in each language has the same meaning. Ensign is an alternative term expressing the idea of the display of insignia and was formerly used where we should now say colours. Milton describes a "bannered host under spread ensigns marching" where he evidently means insignia, and he tells us that

"Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanced.
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
Of hierarchies, orders, and degrees."

In time the term became applied to the man as well as the flag, but the junior officers in the British infantry who till 1871 were known as ensigns were at an earlier period termed ensign-bearers.

A clear distinction between standard and banner is

made in the description of the flags borne at the obsequies of Queen Elizabeth—the great embroidered banner of England, the banners of Wales, Ireland, Chester, and Cornwall, and the standards of the dragon, greyhound, and falcon. In like manner Stow tells us that when King Henry VII took the field in 1513, he had with him the standard with the red dragon and the banner of the arms of England, and Machyn says that at the funeral of Edward VI, “furst of all whent a grett company of chylderyn in ther surples and clarkes syngyng and then ij harolds, and then a standard with a dragon, and then a grett nombur of ye servants in blake, and then anoder standard with a whyt greyhound.” Later on in the procession came “ye grett baner of armes in brodery and with dyvers odere baners.”

Standards varied in size according to the rank of the person entitled to them. A manuscript of the time of Henry VII gives the following dimensions:—for that of the king, a length of eight yards; for a duke, seven; for an earl, six; a marquis, six and a half; a viscount, five and a half; a baron, five; a knight banneret, four and a half; and for a knight, four yards. In fact they come into the same category as the enormous ensigns and national flags worn by our warships, the largest white ensign made at Chatham being eleven yards long and the largest Union nine yards.

Richard, Earl of Salisbury, in the year 1458, ordered that at his burial there should be banners, standards, and other accoutrements according as was usual for a person of his degree. These were all regulated by the heralds who devised a kind of pictorial pedigree to surround the bier; and in state funerals the practice continued into the nineteenth century. At Nelson's funeral were the square bannerols with the arms of his family lineage and his banner of arms and standard were

borne in the procession ; and it is worth noting that in his standard the cross of St. George was replaced by the Union, old England having then expanded into the United Kingdom. At Wellington's funeral there were ten of these bannerols announcing his pedigree, besides his banner and standard as also the national flag, and colours of the regiments he had led to victory. But bannerol in all its spellings is now a word of the past, and banner has undergone a change of meaning that misleads.

The guilds and companies of the middle ages had all their special banners that came out, as do those of their successors, on occasions of civic pageantry ; and in many cases, as shown in the illuminated MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere, they were carried to battle by the companies of men provided at the cost of those corporations. Thus we have a banner bearing a chevron between hammer, trowels, and mason's square, or between an axe and two pairs of compasses ; while a third on its azure field bears a pair of golden shears. In the representation of a battle between the Flemings under Philip van Arteveld and the French, many of the flags therein introduced bear such devices as boots, shoes, drinking vessels, anvils and so on, owing to the fact that various trade guilds sent their contingents of men to the fight. In a French work on mediaeval guilds we find the candlemakers of Bayeux marching beneath a black banner with three white candles on it, the locksmiths of La Rochelle with a scarlet flag having four golden keys, the lawyers of Loudun under a flag with a large eye, those of Laval under a blue banner with three golden mouths ; the Laval metal-workers bearing a black flag with silver hammer and files while those of Niort were distinguished by a red one with a silver cup and a fork and spoon in gold on either side, being probably goldsmiths and silversmiths as were those of Ypres who bore

a golden flagon and two golden buckles on a red, and not, as might have been expected, a diapered field.

Banners are now left at home when fighting begins, otherwise we might have history repeating itself and our City Companies contributing contingents distinguishable by their insignia—the Fishmongers under their dolphins and crowned fishes, the Grocers under their cloves, the Drapers under their crowned clouds and sunrays, the Goldsmiths hall-marked under their lions' heads, the Merchant Taylors under their tents, the Ironmongers under their ingots, the Haberdashers under their golden goats, the Mercers under their Virgin with her hair drying, the Vintners under their three casks, the Clothworkers under their hooks and teasel, the Skinners under their three crowns and ermine field, the Salters under their three boiled eggs, and the Gardeners under that mystery of mysteries the iron spade with which they have provided Adam. The banners of the City Livery Companies that now put in an appearance at the Lord Mayor's Show did a double duty. They were used on land and water. From 1436 to 1856 the pageant started from Paul's Wharf to Westminster in decorated barges, and returned from Westminster to Paul's Wharf where it came ashore and proceeded on horseback through the city. The 9th of November, however—until 1751 it was the 29th of October—was not always fine but generally wet or foggy, nor was the tide always on the flow, and the remembrance of several weary pilgrimages on the half-ebb through a seasonable drizzle, joined to the strong feeling of the City fathers against the Thames Conservancy Act, which took away from them the sovereignty of the river, led Sir Walter Carden in 1857 to abandon the venerable water pageant without regret.

A banner as generally understood now is the sort of

thing used by trade unions, friendly societies, and Sunday schools—a broad sheet of fabric hung from a crossbar between two poles, each carried in a sling by a man and stayed by two or three ropes hung on to by other men in windy weather when no harder work is known than that of a banner-bearer in a procession along the Thames Embankment, his burden nearly carrying him off his legs in anything of a breeze.

The Gonfalon or Gonfanon was in its latest form in England a square pennon fixed to the end of a lance like a small banner; but earlier, and on the Continent, it had two or three streamers or tails and was fixed in a frame made to turn like a vane, its object being “to render great people more conspicuous to their followers and to terrify the horses of their adversaries.” The Italian cities had their municipal gonfalons, of much the same character as our trade society single banners, and the bearer was the gonfalonier who was annually elected. According to Wace, the Jersey chronicler, in the *Roman de Rou*, the banner given by the Pope to William of Normandy was a gonfanon:

“Son gonfanon fist traire avant,
Ke li Pope enveia”;

and he helps us a little later on with

“Li Barunz orent gonfanons,
Li chevaliers orent penons.”

When a knight had performed on the field of battle some especially valiant or meritorious act, it was open to the Sovereign to mark his sense of it by making him a knight banneret—a dignity attainable only by the rich owing to the retinue it entailed, and therefore frequently declined. * Thus, in the reign of Edward III, John de Cope-land was made a banneret for his service in taking prisoner

David Bruce, the King of Scotland, at the battle of Neville's Cross; Colonel John Smith, having rescued the royal banner at Edgehill, was in like manner made a knight-banneret by Charles I. The title does not seem to have been in existence before the reign of Edward I, and after this bestowal by Charles I we hear no more of it till 1743, when it was conferred upon several English officers by George II, upon the field of Dettingen.

The ceremony of investiture was in the earlier days very simple. The flag of the ordinary knight was of the form known as the pennon—a small, swallow-tailed flag like that borne by our lancer regiments. On being summoned to the royal presence, the king took from him his lance, and either cut or tore away the points of his flag, until he had reduced it roughly to banner form, and then returned it to him with such words of commendation as the occasion called for. The pennon so torn seems to have been preserved as a certificate, and a new banner made as soon as possible, for on the morning of the battle of Najara in 1367 we are told by Froissart that Sir John Chandos, who had been banneretted, "brought his banner rolled up together to the Prince, and said 'Sir, behold here is my banner: I require you to display it abroad and give me leave this day to raise it; for, sir, I thank God and you, I have land and heritage sufficient to maintain it withal.' Then the Prince and King Don Peter took the banner between their hands and spread it abroad, the which was of silver, a sharp pile gules, and delivered it to him and said: 'Sir John, behold here your banner, God send you joy and honour thereof.' Then Sir John Chandos bare his banner to his own company and said: 'Sirs, behold here my own banner and yours; keep it as your own.' And they took it and were right joyful thereof."

It was an essential condition that the rank should be

bestowed by the Sovereign on the actual field of battle and beneath the royal banner. General Sir William Erskine, the hero of Emsdorf, was given this rank by George III. on his return from the Continent in 1764, four years after the battle ; but as the investiture took place in Hyde Park and not in actual warfare, it was deemed irregular, and, the royal will and action notwithstanding, his rank was never recognized.

The Pennon is a small, narrow flag, forked or swallow-tailed which was carried on the lance. Our readers will recall the knight in *Marmion*, who

“On high his forky pennon bore,
Like swallow’s tail in shape and hue” ;

and the knight in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, that

“By hys bannere borne is hys pennon
Of golde full riche.”

The pennon bore the arms of the knight which were in the earlier days of chivalry so emblazoned upon it as to appear in their proper position when the lance was held horizontally for the charge. The earliest brass extant, the one of Sir John Daubernoun, at Stoke d’Abernon Church, in Surrey, represents the knight as bearing a lance with pennon. Its date is 1277, and the device is a golden chevron on a blue field. In this example the pennon, instead of being forked, ends in a point.

The pennon was borne by those knights who were not bannerets, and the bearers of it were therefore sometimes called pennonciers. The pennons of our lancer regiments fairly resemble in form, size, and general effect the ancient knightly pennon, though they do not bear devices upon them, and thus fail in one notable essential to recall the brilliant blazonry that must have

been so marked a feature when the knights took the field. Of the thirty-seven pennons borne on lances by various knights represented in the Bayeux tapestry, twenty-eight have triple points, while others have two, four, or five. The devices upon these pennons consist of roundels, crescents, and stars and such simple forms. Nowadays it is not our custom to wear the pennon on the lance in battle, its upper half, which is red, being a reminder of the days when, for instance, the French Monarch in Shakspeare's *Henry the Fifth*, could speak of his rival, "that sweeps through our land with pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur."

The pennoncelle, or pencil, is the diminutive of the pennon which was carried by esquires. Such flags were often supplied in large quantities at any special time of rejoicing or of mourning. At the burial in the year 1554 of the Duke of Norfolk, we note amongst other items a "baner of damaske, and xij dosen penselles." At the burial of Sir William Goring we find "ther was viij dosen of penselles," while at the Lord Mayor's procession in 1555 we read that there were "ij goodly pennes (State barges) deckt with flages and stremers and a m penselles." This "m," or thousand, may be an exaggeration, though in another instance we find "the cordes were hanged with innumerable pencilles." The statement of the cost of the funeral of Oliver Cromwell is interesting. The total cost was over £28,000, and the items include "six gret banners wrought on rich taffaty in oil, and gilt with fine gold," at £6 each; five large standards, similarly wrought, at a cost of £10 each; six dozen pennons, a yard long, at a sovereign each; forty trumpet banners, at forty shillings apiece; thirty dozen of pennoncelles, a foot long, at twenty shillings a dozen; and twenty dozen ditto at twelve shillings the dozen—probably the reds and blues that street

decorators are so fond of festooning. The Pennant or Pendant is the long narrow flag, in Tudor times called a streamer, which ends in a point and is flown from a height, as is shown by its obvious derivation from the Latin for hanging. Pendants were of any length and can be so still, their length being only limited by the nearest obstruction in which they may get entangled. The pennant of a British warship, which prior to 1653 was flown from the yard-arm and not from the mast-head, is twenty yards long and only four-and-a-half inches in breadth, the arms of the red cross being an inch and a half in width, the long arm measuring fifty-four inches. This is the whip of the Monck legend, but it really shows that the ship is in commission and it used to vary in length with the length of that commission until the ship came into port to pay off when it was lengthened to such an extent that a full-blown bladder was attached to its end so that it could float for many yards in the ship's wake. Even this length could be defended on the ground of old custom, for in the before mentioned Harleian Manuscripts, No. 2358, dealing with "the Syze of Banners, Standards, Pennons, Guydhomes, Pencels, and Streamers," it is laid down that "a streamer shall stand in the toppe of a shippe, or in the forecastle, and therein be putt no armes but a man's conceit or device, and may be of the lengthe of twenty, forty or sixty yards."

In those days many badges were introduced, the streamer being made of sufficient width to allow of their display. Thus Dugdale, gives an account of the fitting up of the ship in which the fifth Earl of Warwick, during the reign of Henry VI, went over to France. The original bill between this nobleman and William Seburgh, "citizen and payntour of London," is still extant, and we see from it that amongst other things provided was

"the grete stremour for the shippe xl yardes in length and viij yardes in brede." These noble dimensions gave ample room for display of the earl's badge, so we find it at the head adorned with "a grete bere holding a ragged staffe," and the rest of its length "powdrid full of raggid staves,"

"A stately ship,
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails filled, and streamers waving."

Machyn tells us in his diary for August 3rd, 1553, how "The Queen came riding to London, and so on to the Tower, makying her entry at Aldgate, and a grett nombur of stremars hanging about the sayd gate, and all the strett unto Leydenhalle and unto the Tower were layd with graffel, and all the crafts of London stood with their banars and stremars hangyd over their heds."

In the picture at Hampton Court of the embarkation of Henry VIII at Dover in the year 1520 to meet Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in many other similar pictures, we find a great variety and display of flags of all kinds, but it by no means follows that these are correctly given in colour or design, the artist as a rule using flags only for their colour value and treating them with a freedom from accuracy that is quite refreshing. The only good authority for a flag is the flag itself or its official description as in the case of our Admiralty Flag Book.

There is much of interest in the badges with which the old streamers were so plentifully spotted. Really the badge is the oldest and simplest heraldic device, being derived as it is from the tribal emblem of the uncivilized. The badges of the kings of England are so useful in many ways as indicative of date that they are worth a passing note. The reader familiar with the

Japanese chrysanthemum of sixteen petals may be surprised to learn that the badge of William Rufus was a flower of five petals, that of Henry I one with eight petals, that of Stephen one with seven petals. Stephen had, however, another badge, the centaur now one of the company colours of the Coldstream Guards. Henry II had also two, one being the *Planta genista* known to countryfolks as dyer's greenweed, the other being the boss of a shield hammered out elaborately into an escar-buncle. His son Richard had a mailed hand and lance, the pheon or spearhead which developed into the broad arrow, and the moon and star of the Turks with the moon on her back which was also used by John and Henry III. Edward I had a golden rose; Edward II adopted his mother's castle of Castile, and Edward III chose the single feather of Hainault borne by his wife, and, of course, the fleur de lis. Richard II had a tree-stump (the wood stock) from his uncle, besides the sun in splendour and in cloud and the familiar white hart at rest. Henry IV had several badges, including the red rose of his father, a columbine flower, and the white swan of the Bohuns which was also adopted by Henry V in addition to the antelope and the cresset. Henry VI used either two feathers crossed or three feathers in a row; Edward IV had amongst others the white rose and the falcon and fetterlock, while Richard III had the white boar. With Henry VII the Tudor rose appeared among the royal badges, as did also the Beaufort portcullis, the red dragon and the greyhound; Henry VIII added a white cock on a red wood stock to his father's array; Edward VI chose the sun in splendour; Mary had the rose and pomegranate; and Elizabeth had the Tudor rose and the falcon and sceptre. After that came variants of the rose and thistle until in 1801 it was decreed that the badge of England should

be a Tudor rose and crown, that of Scotland a crowned thistle, that of Ireland a harp and trefoil, and that of Wales the red dragon with expanded wings.

The next flag to which reference is necessary is the Guidon. The word is derived from the French guide-homme and was at first so spelled, but in the days when men enjoyed a freedom in their orthography which is denied to us it is met with as guydhome, guydon, gyttton, geton and so on, until it at last took on the official form of guidon. A guidon in the British service is a flag forty-one inches long and twenty-seven inches high, slit in the fly and having the upper and lower corners rounded off at a distance of a foot from the end. It is borne by dragoon regiments of which there are now only three in our regular army, the Royals, the Greys, and the Inniskillings, who represent the three kingdoms, England, Scotland and Ireland and form the famous Union Brigade. It should be noted that the two regiments of Life Guards, the Horse Guards, and the seven regiments of Dragoon Guards have standards, the standard in this particular military sense being a rectangular flag of silk damask embroidered and fringed with gold and measuring thirty inches in length and twenty-seven inches in width without the gold fringe. No other cavalry regiments have colours, neither have rifle regiments nor the artillery—whose guns are their colours—nor the engineers. In light cavalry the regimental honours are borne on the drum cloths and in the other colourless regiments they are displayed on the badge. The guidon was not always slit in the fly. In funeral processions, as at the burial of Albemarle in 1670, of Nelson in 1806 and of Wellington in 1852, it was rounded, and sometimes it was semi-circular.

Flags are usually made of bunting, a woollen fabric which, from the nature of its texture and its great tough-

ness and durability, is particularly fitted to stand wear and tear. It comes from Yorkshire in pieces of forty yards in length and nine inches in width, hence a flag a yard in height is technically described as being of four breadths. Silk is also used for special and military purposes. Flags made of bunting are sewn; when very small or of some other material they are printed in colours; and when of intricate pattern, as in the case of armorial bearings, they are painted. The real flags used at sea, unlike those that come from the toyshop, are sewn to a short rope having a toggle at the top, the toggle being a spindle-shaped wooden pin beneath which is hitched the rising end of the halliards so that the flag cannot well be hoisted upside down.

Flag-designing is really a branch of heraldry and should be in accordance with its laws both in the forms and colours introduced. Yellow in blazonry is the equivalent of gold, and white of silver, and it is one of the requirements of heraldry that colour should not be placed upon colour nor metal upon metal; but it is not everyone who knows heraldry, as is evident from the national flags of the South American republics and other states that should have known better. Even the popes with their white and yellow, that is silver and gold, have displayed their ignorance of heraldry for over a thousand years.

In regulation flags the assemblage of colours is held to be sufficient, and anything of the nature of an inscription is rare; but on the flags of insurgents and malcontents the inscription often counts for much. The flags of the Covenanters often bore mottoes or texts, a striking example being the famous Bloody Banner the existence of which is denied by Presbyterian historians though it is still preserved in safe custody and is figured in colours and described by Andrew MacGeorge in his

book on flags. During the Civil War between the Royalists and Parliamentarians flags with mottoes were much used. Thus, on one we see five hands stretching at a crown defended by an armed hand issuing from a cloud, and the motto, "*Reddite Cæsari.*" In another we have an angel with a flaming sword treading a dragon underfoot, and the motto, "*Quis ut Deus,*" while yet another is inscribed, "*Courage pour la Cause.*" On a fourth we find an ermine, and the motto, "*Malo mori quam foedari*"—"It is better to die than to be sullied," in allusion to the belief—before it was known that the ermine was only the stoat in winter-dress—that the ermine would die rather than soil its fur and consequently was the emblem of purity and honour.

The red flag is the symbol of mutiny and of revolution. As a sign of disaffection it was twice displayed in the Royal Navy. A mutiny broke out at Portsmouth in April, 1797, for an advance of pay; an Act of Parliament was passed to sanction the increase, and all who were concerned in the mutiny received the royal pardon, but in June of the same year, at the Nore, the spirit of disaffection broke out afresh, and the ringleaders were executed. It is noteworthy that, aggrieved as these seamen were against the authorities, when the King's birthday came round, on June 4th, though the mutiny was then at its height, the red flags were lowered, the vessels gaily dressed in the regulation bunting, and a royal salute was fired. Having thus demonstrated their loyalty, the red flags were re-hoisted, and the dispute with the Admiralty resumed in all its bitterness. A curious relic of these mutiny days is the flag hoisted by the crew of H.M.S. *Niger* when they opposed these Sheerness mutineers of 1797. It was presented by the crew to their captain and can be seen in the United Service Museum, being a blue flag with the crown,

evidently made aboardship, the motto, in large letters, being "Success, to a good cause."

The white flag is the symbol of amity and of good will ; of truce amidst strife, and of surrender when the cause is lost. The yellow, or black-and-yellow, betokens infectious illness, and is displayed when there is cholera, yellow fever, or such like dangerous malady on board ship, and it is also hoisted on quarantine stations. The green flag is hoisted over a wreck ; the black signifies mourning and death, with the skull and crossbones it is the flag of a pirate ; the red cross with the arms of equal length, half as wide as they are long, stopping short of the edges of the white field is the hospital and ambulance flag that flies over the sick and wounded in war.

The first legal and international obligation on record to carry colours at sea appears to have been agreed upon at the Convention of Bruges when Edward I and Guy, Count of Flanders, undertook that their respective subjects should "for the future carry in their ensigns or flags the arms of their own ports certifying their belonging to the said ports," but the Cinque Ports had carried colours for many years before, and a sort of code of flag etiquette was already in existence.

Honour and respect are expressed by "dipping" the flag. At any parade of troops before the sovereign the regimental flags are lowered as they pass the saluting point, and at sea the colours are dipped by hauling them down from the peak or ensign-staff and then promptly replacing them. They must not be suffered to remain at all stationary when lowered, as a flag flying half-mast high is a sign of mourning or death, or for some national loss, and it is scarcely a mark of honour to imply that the arrival of the distinguished person is a cause of grief.

In time of peace it is an insult to hoist the flag of one friendly nation above another, so that each flag must

be flown from its own staff, and when royal personages of two nations are on board the same ship their standards are flown side by side, hence the double or treble set of sheaves in main trucks which have come in useful for signalling purposes. Saluting by lowering the flag is of ancient date and a more convenient method than the older custom of lowering the topsails. In 1201 King John decreed that if his admiral or lieutenant should meet any ships at sea which refused to strike and lower their sails at command their crews should be reputed as enemies and their ships and cargo forfeited; and foreign vessels were brought into port for not so saluting.

The first occasion on which the claim to the sovereignty of the four seas was admitted by foreigners appears to have been in 1320 when Edward II was appealed to by the Flemish envoys to put a stop to piracy. In 1336 Edward III referred to his royal progenitors as having been lords of the sea on every side but the claim did not become effective until 1350 after the fight of Lespagnols-sur-mer, off Winchelsea, when the king had to save himself from his sinking ship by capturing one of the enemy's, the Prince of Wales had to do likewise, and little John of Gaunt, aged ten, refused to stay with his mother and bore himself like a man in aiding in a victory so decisive that it gave his father the title of King of the Sea and set him in a ship on his gold coins. The Netherlanders of those days willingly admitted this sovereignty on the understanding that its limits were reached when the ship passed Craudon in the extreme west of Brittany.

Under the Tudors, if any commander of an English vessel met the ship of a foreigner who refused to salute the English flag, it was enacted that such ship, if taken, was the lawful prize of the captain. A notable example of this insistence on the respect to the flag arose in May,

1554, when a Spanish fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, escorting their King on his way to England to his marriage with Queen Mary, fell in with the English fleet under the command of Lord William Howard, Lord High Admiral. Philip would have passed the English fleet without paying the customary honours, but the signal was at once made by Howard for his twenty-eight ships to prepare for action, and a round shot crashed into the side of the vessel of the Spanish admiral. The hint was promptly taken, and the Spanish fleet struck their colours and topsails as homage to the English flag. When Anne of Austria was on her way to Spain to marry Philip in 1570 Hawkins is reported to have compelled the Spanish vessels to show the same respect at Plymouth; and there are other instances of the same sort with lesser luminaries. The reason why foreigners submitted to the custom for so long was that England levied no duties on ships passing through the straits but only insisted on the salute which cost them nothing, and the salute showed their sea manners just as a gentleman raises his hat to a lady; but it became different when the Stuarts arrived under whom the claim to the sovereignty of the seas was no longer satisfied with a mere courteous acknowledgment but took a practical and pecuniary form.

This was in 1609 when James I forbade foreigners to fish on the British coasts without being licensed by him. His son Charles I asserted his right to rule over the surrounding seas as part of his realm, and the Commonwealth abated none of this claim; and in 1654 on the conclusion of peace between England and Holland, the Dutch consented to acknowledge the English supremacy of the seas, the article in the treaty declaring that "the ships of the Dutch—as well ships of war as others—meeting any of the ships of war of the English, in the

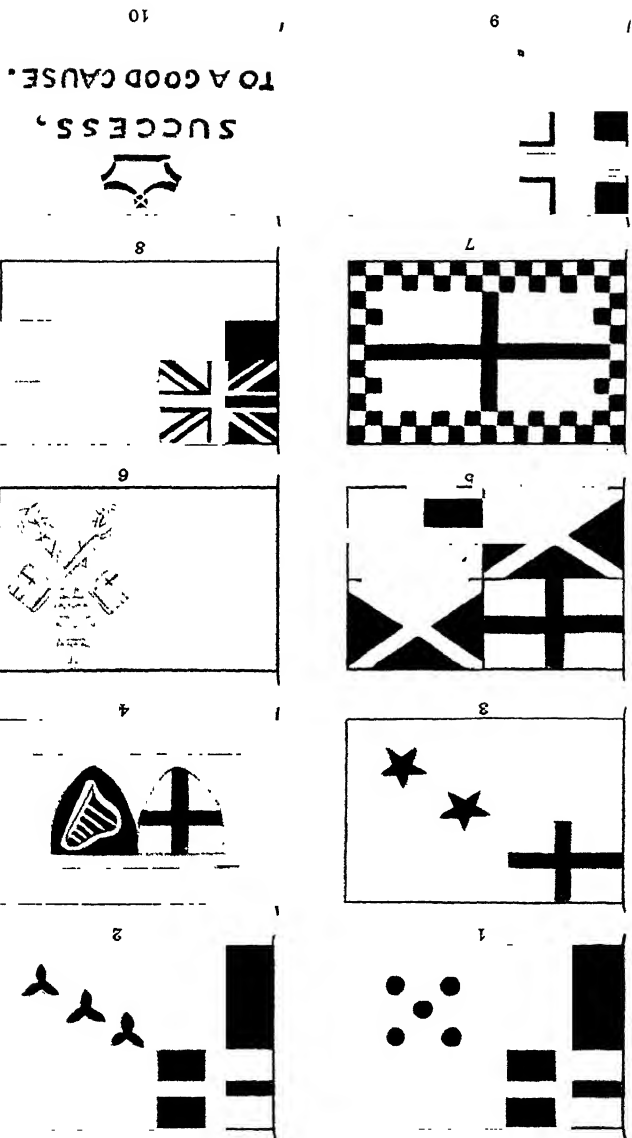


PLATE IV.

OBSOLETE FLAGS.

1. London Trained Bands. Blue Regiment.
2. London Trained Bands. Green Regiment.
3. London Trained Bands. Yellow Regiment.
4. Admiral's Flag, 1649.
5. Commonwealth, 1651.
6. Papal States.
7. Guinea Company.
8. Heligoland.
9. Savoy.
10. Anti-Mutiny Flag. (H.M.S. Niger.)

British seas, shall strike their flags and lower their topsails in such manner as hath ever been at any time heretofore practised."

During the eighteenth century the regulation ran: "When any of His Majesty's ships shall meet with any ship or ships belonging to any foreign Prince or State, within His Majesty's seas, which extend to Cape Finisterre, it is expected that the said foreign ships do strike their topsail, and take in their flag, in acknowledgment of His Majesty's sovereignty in those seas; and if any shall refuse, or offer to resist, it is enjoined on all flag-officers and commanders to use their utmost endeavours to compel them thereto, and not to suffer any dishonour to be done to His Majesty."

This instruction was withdrawn in the regulations of the Trafalgar period, but His Majesty's ships were cautioned not to strike their topsails or take in their flags unless the foreigners had already done so or did so at the same time; and, further, if any British merchant vessel attempted to pass any of His Majesty's ships without striking topsails the fact was to be reported to the Admiralty in order that the owners of the ship might be proceeded against in the Admiralty Court. After the war was over this gradually lapsed into the obsolete, and merchant ships now salute each other by dipping the ensign as an act of courtesy though they are compelled to show their colours when required. Warships do not dip to each other, but, if the merchantman dips to them, they reply.

Most of the obsolete flags went out of use owing to political and dynastic changes, and no notes on the subject would be complete without reference to some that have disappeared in recent times. For instance, there was the flag of the East India Company, and also that of the Guinea Company, a chartered company like

the East India, long since defunct after many reconstructions, which in 1663 brought from the West Coast of Africa the gold out of which the first guineas were coined—of Guinea gold—the early issues bearing under the king's head the elephant which is still the badge of that group of colonies. There was the flag of Savoy, an ancient sovereignty that expanded into the kingdom of Italy, absorbing Tuscany, Naples and Sicily, with Venice whose glorious flag was the golden lion of St. Mark rising from the basal band of blue, and the States of the Church whose ancient white and yellow vertical—now floats only over the gardens of the Vatican. The break-up of Turkey, the collapse of the Confederate States of America, the dismissal from their thrones of the Emperor of Brazil and the King of Portugal, our gift of Heligoland to Germany, and many other political changes we need not linger on, similarly led to the withdrawal of many flags and the appearance of many more.

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CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL STANDARD AND OUR NATIONAL FLAGS

THE Royal Standard is the symbol of the personal tie that unites the British power throughout the world under one King. In it the three golden lions stand for England, the red lion rampant for Scotland, the golden harp for Ireland, being the three States of the United Kingdom from which the empire grew. There are some who think that India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the other vast possessions under British rule might fairly find a place in the fourth quarter where Hanover used to be; and it would seem to be within the range of heraldry to find some simple device to signify them all and be as effective as the duplication of the three lions. For instance in Salisbury Cathedral is the grand old effigy of Fair Rosamond's son, William Longsword the first Earl of Salisbury, who bears the arms of his grandfather Geoffrey of Anjou who married the daughter of Henry I and by her became the father of our Plantagenets. The arms are azure, six lioncels or, and this half dozen—or more if need be—yellow young lions, rampant, vigorous and growing, on a red field instead of a blue one, would adequately fill the lower section of the fly and worthily keep the balance of the flag.

How the three lions of England arose is not so clear as

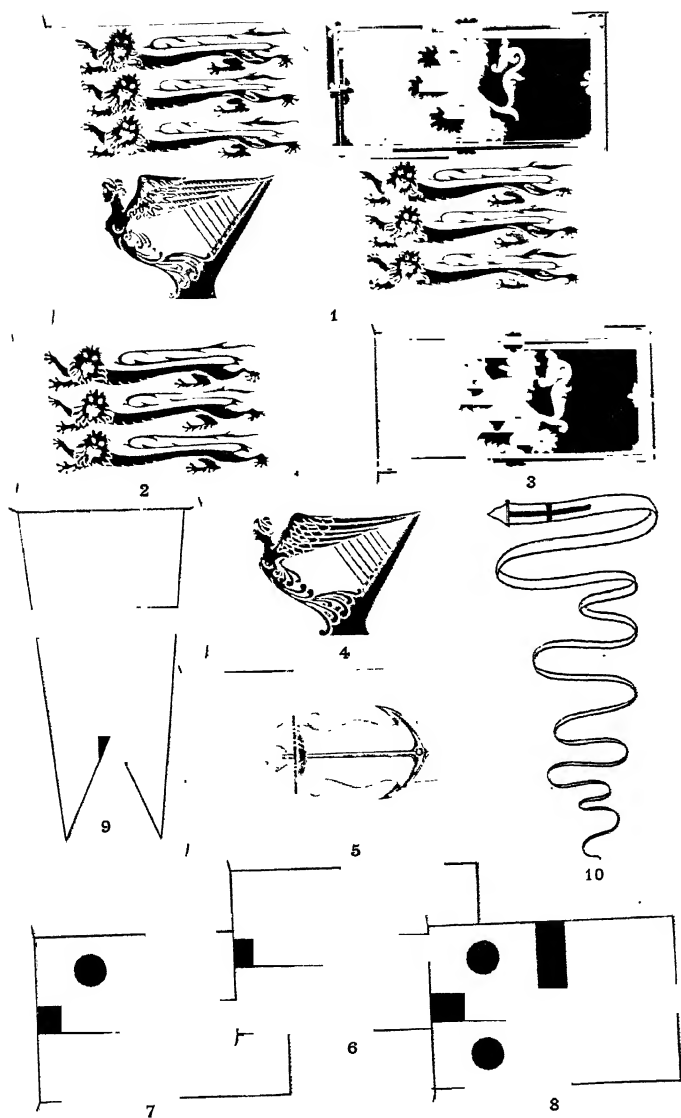
it might be. Two lions were assigned as the arms of William the Conqueror, a lion each for Normandy and Maine, but there is no distinct evidence that he bore them. Heraldry had not then become definite, and when it did, a custom sprang up of assigning to those who were dead certain arms, the kindly theory being that such persons, had they been living, would undoubtedly have borne them—which they might or they might not. The first unquestionable example of an heraldic device is that of a demi-lion rampant on the seal of Philip I, Count of Flanders, in 1164, and the first English shield of arms is that of Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in 1165. Both these are in the reign of Henry II, and so late as that monarch the royal bearing is still traditional when it is said that on his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine and Guienne he incorporated with his own two lions the single lion of his father-in-law. It is not until the reign of his son, Richard, that we reach solid ground. During his crusading experiences Cœur-de-Lion's banner bore "two lions combattant or," as appear on his first great seal; but on his second great seal we have the "three lions passant guardant, in pale or, on a field gules," which have been described as his father's arms. The date of this seal is 1195, so that we have at all events a period of over seven hundred years, waiving a break during the Commonwealth, in which the three golden lions on the red field have typified the might of England.

The rampant lion was borne by William the Lion about 1165, and, within the tressure, is first seen on the Great Seal of King Alexander II, who married the daughter of King John. The same device without any modification of colour or form was thenceforward borne by all the Sovereigns of Scotland, and on the accession of James to the throne of the United Kingdom,

PLATE V.

THE ROYAL STANDARD AND THE ADMIRALTY.

1. The Royal Standard
2. The Standard of England.
3. The Standard of Scotland.
4. The Standard of Ireland.
5. The Admiralty Flag.
6. Admiral's Flag.
7. Vice-Admiral's Flag.
8. Rear-Admiral's Flag.
9. Commodore's Flag.
10. The White Pennant.



in the year 1603, became an integral part of the Royal Standard. .

The Scotch took considerable umbrage at their lion being placed in the second quarter, while the lilies and lions of England were placed in the first, as they claimed that Scotland was a more ancient kingdom than England, and that in any case, on the death of Queen Elizabeth of England, the Scottish monarch virtually annexed the Southern Kingdom to his own. This feeling of jealousy was so bitter and potent that for many years after the Union, on all seals peculiar to Scottish business and on the flags displayed north of the Tweed, the arms of Scotland were placed in the first quarter as they are on the monument to Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey.

Even so lately as the year 1853, on the issue of the florin, the old jealousy blazed up again. A statement was drawn up and presented to Lord Lyon King of Arms, setting forth anew the old grievances of the lions in the Standard and the crosses in the Flag of the Union, and adding that "the new two-shilling piece, called a florin, which has lately been issued, bears upon the reverse four crowned shields, the first or uppermost being the three lions passant of England; the second, or right hand proper, the harp of Ireland; the third, or left hand proper, the lion rampant of Scotland; the fourth, or lower, the three lions of England repeated. Your petitioners beg to direct your Lordship's attention to the position occupied by the arms of Scotland upon this coin, which are placed in the third shield instead of the second, a preference being given to the arms of Ireland over those of this kingdom."

The border surrounding the lion is heraldically known as a double tressure flory counterflory. In the single tressure flory the heads of the six lilies point outwards

and all their stalks inwards; in the single tressure flory counterflory the three lilies at the corners point outwards and the other three point inwards. The double tressure is a combination of these two, one smaller than the other, and the space between them is cleared so as to show an unbroken strip of the golden field. This is not the only tressure in Scottish heraldry, for tressures are borne by the two main branches of the Gordons, that of the Marquis of Huntly having lilies within and crescents without, and that of the Aberdeen branch having lilies and thistles alternately, and by several other families including the Buchanans whose tressure is single and black with sixteen black stars.

The date and cause of the introduction are unknown. If we are to believe Boethius and Buchanan, it was first assumed by Achaius, the just and wise, but that somewhat shadowy monarch could hardly have put it round a lion rampant which did not exist, for, according to Anderson's *Diplomata*, that gallant symbol was first adopted by King William. The mythical story is that it was added by Achaius in 792 in token of alliance with Charlemagne, who was more of a German than a Frenchman, but these monarchs probably never heard of each other. Nevertheless the tressure would seem to point to the long alliance which existed between the French and Scots. Nisbet says that "the tressure fleurie encompasses the lyon of Scotland to show that he should defend the flower-de-luses, and these continue a defence to the lyon"; and it is significant that in the reign of James III, in 1471, when relations with France were strained, it was "ordaint that in tyme to cum thar suld be na double tresor about his armys, but that he suld ber armys of the lyoun, without ony mur"—which seems never to have been done. The Scottish Standard, it should be remembered, is as much a personal flag as the

Royal Standard, and should never be flown in street decorations instead of the real Scottish national flag, the white diagonal cross of St. Andrew on the blue field.

The union of Ireland with England and Scotland took place in 1801 but the harp had been placed on the standard in 1603. The conquest of Ireland was entered upon in 1172, in the reign of Henry II, but was not really completed until the surrender of Limerick in 1691. Until January 23rd, 1542, the country was styled not the Kingdom but the Lordship of Ireland, the title of King being confirmed by Act of Parliament, 35 Henry VIII, cap. 3 of 1544.

An early standard of Ireland has three golden crowns on a blue field, and arranged over each other as are the English lions; and a commission appointed in the reign of Edward IV, to enquire what really were the arms of Ireland, reported in favour of the three crowns. The early Irish coinage bears these three crowns upon it, as do the coins of Henry V and his successors. Henry VIII substituted the harp on the coins, but neither crowns nor harps nor any other device for Ireland appear in the Royal Standard until the reign of James I. In the Harleian MS., No. 304, in the British Museum, we find the statement that "the armes of Irland is Gules iij old harpes gold, stringed argent" and on the silver coinage for Ireland of Queen Elizabeth the shield bears these three harps. At her funeral Ireland was represented by a blue flag having a crowned harp of gold upon it, and James I adopted this, but without the crown, as a quartering in his standard which was its first appearance on our Royal Standard.

Why Henry VIII substituted the harp for the three crowns is not really known. Some would have us believe that the king was apprehensive that the three crowns might be taken as symbolizing the triple crown

of the Pope; whilst others suggest that Henry, being presented by the Pope with the supposed harp of Brian Boru, was induced to change the arms of Ireland by placing on her coins the representation of this relic of her most celebrated native king which has been proved, by the ornament upon it, to have been made since the fourteenth century. The Earl of Northampton, writing in the reign of James I, suggests a third explanation. "The best reason," saith he, "that I can observe for the bearing thereof is, it resembles that country in being such an instrument that it requires more cost to keep it in tune than it is worth."

The Royal Standard should only be hoisted when the Sovereign is actually within the palace or castle, or at the saluting point, or on board the vessel where we see it flying, though this rule is not observed as it should be, thereby causing much offence in high quarters. It should never be used for street decorations. To quote the King's Regulations, Article 43, paragraph 5, "The Royal Standard being the personal flag of the Sovereign is not to be displayed in future on board His Majesty's Ships or on Official Buildings, as has hitherto been customary on His Majesty's Birthday and other occasions, but it shall only be hoisted on occasions when the Sovereign is actually present, or when any member of the Royal Family is present representing the Sovereign. In such case that member of the Royal Family may fly the Royal Standard for the time being, but on no other occasion." It should not be forgotten that the other members of the Royal Family have each his or her standard, which differs from the Royal Standard in the details of its blazonry.

In its early form, with the three golden lions only, it was borne by Richard I, John, Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II. Edward III also bore it for the first thir-

teen years of his reign, so that this simple but beautiful flag was the royal banner for over one hundred and fifty years. Edward III, on his claim in the year 1340 to be King of France as well as of England, quartered the golden lilies of that kingdom with the lions of England giving the lilies the place of honour. Throughout the reign of Richard II (1377 to 1399) the royal banner was divided in half, all on the outer half being like that of Edward III, while the half next the staff was the golden cross and martlets on the blue ground, assigned to Edward the Confessor, his patron saint. On the accession of Henry IV to the throne, the cross and martlets disappeared, and the simple quartering of France and England reverted to. France first and fourth, England second and third.

Originally the lilies were "semée," that is scattered freely over the field, so that most were complete and those at the sides were more or less imperfect, but Charles V of France in 1365 reduced the number to three, all perfect, and in 1405 Henry IV of England adopted the new form, it being pointed out to him that the English claimed France as it was and not as it had been; and with the three lilies quartered with the three lions the Royal Standard remained unaltered for two hundred years.

This is the grand old flag which, according to Macaulay, the Sheriff of Devon hoisted in Plymouth market-place, when he should have run up the red cross of St. George, at the news of the sighting of the Armada :

"Look how the lion of the sea lifts up his ancient crown,
And underneath his deadly paw treads the gay lilies down !
So stalked he when he turned to flight on that famed Picard
field,
Bohemia's plume, and Genoa's bow, and Cæsar's eagle
shield.

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So glared he when at Agincourt in wrath he turned to bay,
And, crushed and torn beneath his claws, the princely
hunters lay.

Ho ! strike the flagstaff deep, Sir Knight ; ho ! scatter
flowers, fair maids ;

Ho ! gunners, fire a loud salute ; ho ! gallants, draw your
blades ;

Thou sun shine on her joyously ; ye breezes waft her wide ;
Our glorious *Semper Eadem*, the banner of our pride ”

—“ always the same ” (*semper eadem*) being the motto of Elizabeth as it had been that of Henry IV.

On the accession of the Stuarts the first, and fourth quarters were quartered again, the small quarterings being the lilies and lions while the second quarter was the Scottish lion and the third the Irish harp. In this form the flag remained until the arrival of William III who on his landing displayed a standard in which the arms were on a shield surmounted by a crown and supported on either side by the lion and unicorn. Above the arms was “ For the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England,” and below them was his Dutch motto “ *Je maintiendray* ” which came in most appropriately. In addition to the insignia of England, Scotland, Ireland and France on the shield were eight others designating his continental possessions. When his throne was assured, the inscriptions and sundries were removed and the Royal Standard of William and Mary bore the arms of both, impaled, both being those of the Stuarts but the King’s coat having in the centre a small escutcheon bearing the arms of Nassau—a golden lion rampant surrounded by golden billets upon a blue field. After Queen Mary’s death her side was cleared and King William’s arms occupied the whole of the shield.

Queen Anne bore the Stuart arms as used by Queen Mary, her sister, until the Union with Scotland in 1707

and then the Royal Standard showed England and Scotland impaled taking the place of the lilies in the first and fourth quarters, the lilies being put in the second quarter, Ireland being in the third quarter as before. In this way France was removed from the most honourable position on the shield after being there for 367 years during which the Sovereigns of England held their own country, heraldically speaking, in less esteem than France. Edward III may be pardoned for his opinion; but what are we to say about Queen Elizabeth? How did she reconcile her patriotic speeches with her armorial bearings? The lilies did not disappear from the second quarter until 1801, and by the Treaty of Amiens in March, 1802, George III confirmed the removal by the article therein renouncing the title of King of France.

On the accession of George I the England and Scotland impaled of the fourth quarter were replaced by the arms of Hanover, the two golden lions on the red field being for England—in the days of Henry II—the blue lion on the yellow field surrounded by red hearts being for Lunenburg, the white horse on the red field being for Westphalia, the red escutcheon in the centre bearing what is known as the golden crown of Charlemagne. The horse—now known as the Hanover horse—is often described as of Saxony, but modern Saxony is not ancient Saxony, and Hanover displayed it as she claimed to be the representative of ancient Saxony, now Westphalia and thereabouts, the horse of which is said to have been black before the conversion to Christianity of Witekind in 785. After the removal of the lilies in 1801 the flag had its four quarters as follows: first and fourth England, second Scotland, third Ireland, the arms of Hanover being placed on a shield in the centre ensigned by an electoral bonnet which in 1816 gave place to a royal crown. This remained the Royal Standard up

to the accession of Queen Victoria when Hanover severed its connection with England and got a king of its own, thereby causing the disappearance of the central shield and greatly improving the appearance of the flag; and the Royal Standard of Edward VII differed from that of Victoria only by the lions being furnished with blue tongues and claws.

On some of the flags used in the British Diplomatic Service the supporters appear. "The lion and the unicorn fighting for the crown" is claimed to be a nursery rhyme of some antiquity; if so, it does not refer to the supporters of the royal arms. They had no existence before the reign of Edward III who had a lion and a falcon; Richard II had two white harts; Henry IV had an antelope and a swan; Henry V had an antelope and a lion; Henry VI had sometimes two antelopes, and sometimes a lion and a tiger; Edward IV had, amongst others, a golden lion and a black bull, and the white lion and white hart adopted for Edward V who reigned only seventy-eight days; Richard III, who reigned only for thirteen months, had two white boars and also a golden lion and a boar; Henry VII had a red dragon and a greyhound, and sometimes two greyhounds; Henry VIII had a golden lion and a red dragon, and sometimes a red dragon and a white bull or else a greyhound; Edward VI had a golden lion and a red dragon, as also had Mary and Elizabeth; and it was not before James I arrived that we got the lion and unicorn. Two unicorns had supported the Scottish arms for years, but the unicorns had been uncrowned, and the crowning of the unicorns proved a fine field for controversy which we will leave to the imagination.

And now for the National Flag. At the siege of Antioch, according to Robertus Monachus, a Benedictine of Rheims who flourished about the year 1120, and wrote

a history of the Crusade, "Our Souldiers being wearied with the long continuance of the Battaile, and seeing that the number of enemies decreased not, began to faint ; when suddenly an infinite number of Heavenly Souldiers all in white descended from the Mountains, the Standard-bearer and leaders of them being Saint George, Saint Maurice, and Saint Demetrius, which when the Bishop of Le Puy first beheld he cryed aloud unto his troopes, 'There are they (saith he) the succours which in the name of God I promised to you'—just as Mohammed claimed that, at the battle of Bedr in 624, the archangel Gabriel mounted on his white horse Haizûm led four thousand warrior angels to help him in his victory. "The issue of the miracle was this, that presently the enemies did turne their backs and lost the field ; there being slaine 100,000 horse, beside foot innumerable, and in their trenches such infinite store of victuals and munitions found that served not only to refresh the wearied Christians, but to confound the enemy." This great victory at Antioch led to the recovery of Jerusalem ; and during the Crusades England, Aragon, and Portugal all assumed St. George as their patron saint.

Throughout the middle Ages the war-cry of the Englishmen was "St. George !"—"St. George," as Philip Faulconbridge says in *King John*,

"That swinged the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door."

At the battle of Poitiers, the Constable of France threw himself, Lingard tells us, across the path of the English with the battle shout, "Montjoy, St. Denis !" which was at once answered by "St. George ! St. George !" and in the onrush the Duke and the greater part of his followers were slain.

"The blyssed and holy Martyr Saynt George is patron

of this realme of Englande, and the crye of men of warre," we read in the *Golden Legend*, and readers of Shakspeare will recall many instances. Thus in *King Richard II* we find :—

"Sound drums and trumpets, boldly and cheerfully,
God and St. George ! Richard and victory " ;

or again in *King Henry V* where the king at the siege of Harfleur cries,

"The game's afoot,
Follow your spirit, and upon this charge
Cry, God for Harry, England, and St. George !"

In the interesting old poem on the siege of Rouen in 1418, written by an eye-witness, we read that on the surrender of the city,

"Trumpis blew ther bemys of bras,
Pipis and clarionys forsoothe ther was.
And as they entrid thay gaf a schowte
With ther voyce that was full stowte,
Seint George ! Seint George ! thay criden on height
And seide, Welcome oure kynges righte !"

The author of *The Seven Champions of Christendom* makes St. George to be born of English parentage at Coventry, but for this there is no authority. The history of St. George is as obscure as that of any saint of equal eminence in the Calendar. There seem to have been two of the name, one born in Cilicia who sold bacon to the army and became a bishop, and was massacred at Alexandria under Julian on the 24th December, 361, and an earlier saint of the Eastern Church who was a soldier and senator under Diocletian and beheaded at Lydda on the 23rd April in the year 303.

"In many a Church his form is seen,
With sword, and shield, and helmet sheen :

Ye know him by his shield of pride,
And by the dragon at his side."

In 1245, on St. George's Day, Frederick II instituted an order of knighthood and placed it under the guardianship of the soldier saint, and its white banner, bearing the red cross, floated in battle alongside that of the German Empire. In like manner on St. George's Day, in 1350, Edward III of England instituted the order of the Garter.

St. George's Day, April 23rd, had too long been suffered to pass almost unregarded, but the movement in favour of its general observance yearly gathers strength. The annual festivals of St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David are never overlooked, and it seemed distinctly a thing to be regretted that the Englishman should allow the name day of his Patron Saint to pass unnoticed. Whatever conduces to the recognition of national life is valuable, and anything that reminds Englishmen of their common ties and common duties should not fall into disuse. At the Council of Oxford in 1222, it was commanded that the Feast of St. George should be kept. In the year 1415, by the Constitutions of Archbishop Chicheley, St. George's Day was made one of the greater feasts and ordered to be observed the same as Christmas Day. In 1545 a special collect, epistle, and gospel were prepared, and it was not till the sixth year of the reign of Edward VI, that, in "The Catalogue of such Festivals as are to be Observed," St. George's Day was omitted.

The Cross of St. George was worn as a badge, over the armour, by every English soldier in the fourteenth century, if the custom did not prevail at a much earlier period. In the ordinances made for the government of the army with which Richard II invaded Scotland in

1386, it is ordered "that everi man of what estate, condicion, or nation thei be of, so that he be of owre partie, bere a signe of the armes of Saint George, large, bothe before and behynde, upon parell that yf he be slayne or wounded to deth, he that hath so doon to hym shall not be putte to deth for defaulte of the cross that he lacketh. And that non enemy do bere the same token or crosse of Saint George, notwithstanding if he be prisoner, upon payne of deth."

It was the flag of battle, and we see it represented in the old prints and drawings that deal with military operations both on land and sea. "St. George's banner broad and gay," was the flag under which the great seamen of Elizabeth's reign traded, explored, or fought; it was the flag that Drake bore round the world; and to this day the flag of a British Admiral is the same simple device, and the white ensign of the Navy is the old flag bearing, in addition, the Union; while the Union itself bears conspicuously the red cross of the warrior saint.

It occupied the post of honour in most of our minor flags. Among the London Trained Bands of 1643, the different regiments were known by the colour of their flags, in each case the Cross of St. George being in the canton. In the Edinburgh Trained Bands for 1685, the different bodies were similarly distinguished by colours in which the cross of St. Andrew is borne. Thus we have the white, the blue, the white and orange, the green and red, the purple, the blue and white, the orange and green, the red and yellow, the red and blue, the red and white, and divers others. The orange company always took the lead. These companies were for a long time in abeyance, and were superseded in 1798 by the formation of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers; but each year the Magistrates and Council still appoint one of their number to be captain of the orange colours.

His duty is to take charge of the old colours and preserve them as an interesting relic of a bygone institution. The banner of the Holy Ghost, presented by James III to the trades of Edinburgh and popularly known as the Blue Blanket, which was borne at Flodden, is also still preserved. It is swallow-tailed in shape and ten feet in length, and it was Mary of Gueldres, Queen of James II, who painted on its now much faded field of azure the white cross of St. Andrew and the crown and thistle, though not, perhaps, the two scrolls with their more modern mottoes.

On the union of the two crowns at the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne, the Cross of St. Andrew was combined with that of St. George, but the English ships still flew the red cross in the foretop and Scottish ships the white cross. The Cross of St. Andrew is a saltire, that is, it is shaped like the letter X, it being made of two pieces of timber driven into the ground to which the saint was tied instead of being nailed. Tradition hath it that the saint, deeming it far too great an honour to be crucified as was his Lord, gained from his persecutors the concession of this variation, from which unpleasant position he continued for two days to preach and instruct "the surrounding populace in that faith which enabled him to sustain his sufferings without a murmur." It is legendarily asserted that this form of cross appeared in the sky to Achaius, King of the Scots, the night before a great battle with Athelstan, and being victorious, he went barefoot to the church of St. Andrew, and vowed to adopt his cross as the national device.

The flags of the Covenanters varied much in their details, but in the great majority of cases bore upon them the Cross of St. Andrew, often accompanied by the thistle, and in most cases by some form of inscription.

Several of these are extant. In one that was borne at the battle of Bothwell Brig, and is now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh, the four blue triangles are filled with the words, "For Religion—Covenants—King—and Kingdoms." The Avondale flag was a white one, having the cross, white on blue in the corner. On the field of the flag was the inscription "Avondale for Religion, Covenant, and King," and beneath this a thistle worked in the national green and crimson. It is remarkable that none of the flags bear the motto which the Parliament on July 5th, 1650, ordered "to be upoun haill culloris and standardis," *i.e.*, "For Covenant, Religion, King, and Kingdom"; and it is characteristic that each body claimed independence even in this matter. Thus the Fenwick flag bore "Phinegh for God, Country, and Covenanted work of Reformations." Another flag has, "For Reformation in Church and State, according to the Word of God and our Covenant," while yet another bears the inscription, "For Christ and His truths," and "No quarters to ye active enemies of ye Covenant."

Why St. Andrew was selected to be the Patron Saint of Scotland has never been satisfactorily settled, but he has held that position since about 740. On the martyrdom of St. Andrew, in the year 69 on the 30th of November—the day assigned to him in the Calendar—at Patras, where the currants come from, his remains were carefully preserved as relics, but in the year 370, Regulus, one of the Greek monks who had them in their keeping, was warned in a vision that the Emperor Constantine was proposing to translate them to Constantinople, and that he must at once visit the shrine and remove thence an arm bone, three fingers of the right hand, and a tooth, and carry them away over sea to the west. Regulus was much troubled at the vision, but hastened to

obey it, so putting the relics into a chest he set sail with some half-dozen companions, to whom he confided the instructions he had received. After a stormy voyage the vessel was dashed upon a rock, and Regulus and his companions landed on an unknown shore, and found themselves in a gloomy forest. Here they were presently discovered by the natives, whose leader listened to their story and gave them land on which to build a church for the glory of God and the enshrining of the relics. This inhospitable shore proved to be that of Caledonia, and the little forest church and hamlet that sprang up around it were the nucleus of St. Andrews, a thriving busy town in Fife, for centuries the seat of a bishopric and the head-quarters of golf.

On the blending of the two kingdoms into one under the sovereignty of King James, it became necessary to design a new flag that should typify this union, and blend together the emblems of the two patron saints—the flag of the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, henceforth to be known as Great Britain.

The Royal Ordinance of April 12th, 1605, dealt with the matter as follows:—"Whereas some difference hath arisen between our subjects of South and North Britain, travelling by seas, about the bearing of their flags,—for the avoiding of all such contentions hereafter we have, with the advice of our Council, ordered that from henceforth all our subjects of this isle and kingdom of Greater Britain, and the members thereof, shall bear in their maintop the Red Cross, commonly called St. George's Cross, and the White Cross, commonly called St. Andrew's Cross, joined together, according to a form made by our Heralds, and sent by us to our Admiral to be published to our said subjects: and in their fore-top our subjects of South Britain shall wear the Red Cross only, as they were wont, and our subjects of North Britain in their

fore-top the White Cross only, as they were accustomed. Wherefore we will and command all our subjects to be comparable and obedient to this our order, and that from henceforth they do not use or bear their flags in any other sort, as they will answer the contrary at their peril."

The proclamation was needed, as there was much ill-will and jealousy between the sailors and others of the two nationalities, and the flag did not by any means please the Scots; but the right to carry in the fore-top the St. Andrew's Cross pure and simple failed to conciliate them. The grievance was that the Cross of St. George was placed in front of that of St. Andrew, and the Scottish Privy Council, in a letter dated Edinburgh, August 7th, 1606, appealed against it in these words:—"Most sacred Soverayne, a greate number of the maisteris of the schippis of this your Majesties kingdome hes verie havelie complenit to your Majesties Counsell, that the forme and patrone of the flagges of schippis sent down heir and command it to be ressavit and used be the subjectis of both kingdomes is verie prejudiciall to the fredome and dignitie of this Estate, and wil gif occasioun of reprotche to this natioun quhair-evir the said flage sal happin to be worne beyond sea, becaus, as your Sacred Majestie may persave, the Scottis Croce, callit Sanctandros Croce, is twyse divydit, and the Inglishe Croce, callit Sanct George, drawne through the Scottis Croce, which is thereby obscurit, and no token nor mark to be seene of the Scottis armes. This will breid some heit and discontentment betwix your Majesties subjectis, and it is to be feirit that some inconvenientis sall fall oute betwix thame, for our seyfaring men cannot be inducit to resave that flage as it is set down. They have drawne two new drauchtis and patrones as most indifferent for both kingdomes, whiche

they presentid to the Counsell, and craved our approbation of the same, but we haif reserved that to your Majestie's princelie determinatioun, as moir particularlie the Erll of Mar, who was present, and herd their complaynt, and to whom we haif remittit the discourse and delyverie of that mater, will informe your Majestie and let your Heynes see the errour of the first patrone and the indifferencie of the two newe draughties."

The truth is that when two persons ride on the same horse they cannot both be in front, and heraldry knows no way of making two devices on a flag of equal value. It might be supposed that the difficulty would be solved by placing St. George and St. Andrew side by side, but this would not do, for the position next the staff is more honourable than one remote from it, just as the upper portion of the flag is more honourable than the lower. This was the reason for the objection to one of the flags of the Commonwealth, where the ensign was quartered with St. George above and St. Andrew below near the staff and St. Andrew above and St. George below in the fly.

At the Restoration the old flag came back and discontent began again in a mild sort of way which did not die out until the Union with Scotland in the time of Queen Anne, when the subject was thoroughly gone into. We read that "on the 17th of April, 1707, the Queen in Council, upon a report from the Lords of the Privy Council, who were attended by the Kings of Arms and Heralds, with divers drafts prepared by them relating to the Ensigns Armorial for the United Kingdom, and conjoining the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, pursuant to the Act for uniting the new kingdoms, was pleased to approve of the following particulars (among others) that the Flags be according to the draft marked C, whereon the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew

are conjoined, as shown in the following drawing marked A, which is a copy of the drawing marked C entered in the College of Arms with the Orders in council"—and it practically left the flag as it had been.

Thus the old Union remained ; and it was the flag of glorious memory under which all our great sea battles were fought up to Copenhagen where it was replaced by the present Union. Thomas Campbell, in his *Mariners of England*, which was written in 1800 as a song to the tune of Martin Parker's *Gentlemen of England* and has now attained a higher position in literature, spoke of the flag of those mariners as having braved the battle and the breeze for a thousand years, which, dating England from Egbert to the time he wrote was absolutely correct, and, when he wrote, the latest form of that flag was the old Union then in the last year of its existence ; but it has not even yet quite disappeared from the sea, for it is still shown afloat as the upper canton in the ensign of the Northern Lights Commissioners in whose care are the lighthouses and lightships of Scotland. It is conspicuous in Copley's "Death of Major Pierson" at the National Gallery and in many other battle pictures and engravings, and examples of it, diminishing by decay, are still to be found in the service museums and other places where historic flags are appreciated.

Charles I issued a proclamation on May 5th, 1634, forbidding any but Royal ships to carry the Union flag ; all merchantmen, according to their nationality, being required to show either the Cross of St. George or that of St. Andrew ; and Queen Anne, on July 28th, 1707, required that merchant vessels should fly a red flag "with a Union Jack described in a canton at the upper corner thereof, next the staff," while the Union Flag, as before, was reserved for the Royal Navy. This

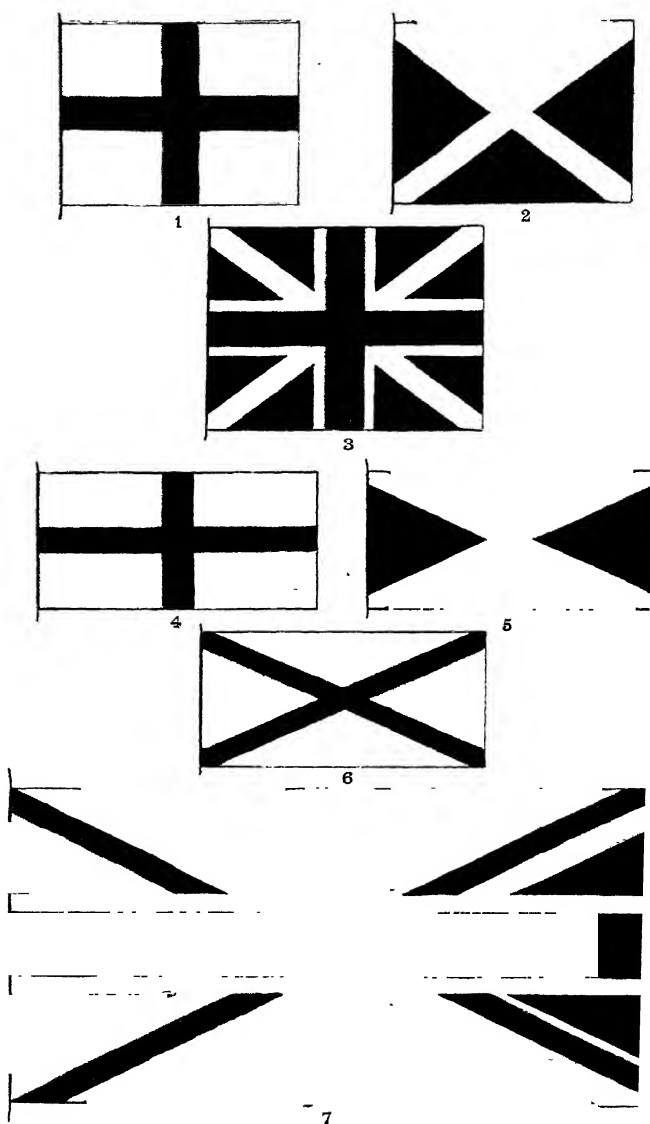


PLATE VI.

OUR NATIONAL FLAG AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

1. National Flag of England.
2. National Flag of Scotland.
3. Old British Union (prior to 1801).
4. St. George's Cross.
5. St. Andrew's Cross.
6. St. Patrick's Cross.
7. National Flag of the British Empire.

is specially interesting, because, after many changes, so lately as October 18th, 1864, it was ordered that the red ensign once again should be the distinguishing flag of the commercial marine; and further because this proclamation of Queen Anne's is the first in which the term Union Jack was officially used.

Technically, our national banner should be called the Union Flag, though in ordinary parlance it is the Union Jack, which term ought in strictness to be confined to the small Union Flag flown from the jackstaff. The Union Flag is, besides this, only used as the special distinguishing flag of an Admiral of the Fleet, when it is hoisted at the main mast-head as near as the wireless or semaphores permit, and when the Sovereign is on board a vessel, in which case the Royal Standard is flown at the main and the Union further aft. With a white border round it, it is one of the signals for a pilot, and hence is called the Pilot Jack.

The Union Jack derived its name from the upright spar from which it is flown on a ship's bowsprit or bow, as distinguishing it from the St. George's Jack, flown from a similar spar in a similar position, which it replaced at the accession of James I. A great deal of print was wasted in endeavouring to persuade people that it got its name of Jack from Jaques, the French for James, but this laboured derivation was blown to the winds when the yachtsman asked the antiquary "How about the jackyarder?" and enquiry showed that Howard's ships in the Armada battles are described as carrying a "jack" on the jackstaff, their jack being but a small edition of the red cross of St. George.

The victories of Robert Blake were not gained under the plain Union, for on the death of Charles I England and Scotland dissolved partnership and the flag was withdrawn to be restored in the general Restoration in

1660. The earliest Commonwealth Flag was a simple reversion to the Cross of St. George. At a meeting of the Council of State, held on February 22nd, 1648-49, it was "ordered that the ships at sea in service of the State shall onely beare the red Crosse in a white flag. That the engravings upon the Sterne of ye ships shall be the Armes of England and Ireland in two Scutcheons, as is used in the Seals, and that a warrant be issued to ye Commissioners of ye Navy to see it put in execution with all speed." The communication thus ordered to be made to the Commissioners was in form a letter from the President of the Council as follows:—"To ye Commissioners of ye Navy.—Gentlemen,—There hath beene a report made to the Councell by Sir Henry Mildmay of your desire to be informed what is to be borne in the flaggs of those Ships that are in the Service of the State, and what to be upon the Sterne in lieu of the Armes formerly thus engraven. Upon the consideration of the Councell whereof, the Councell have resolved that they shall beare the Red Crosse only in a white flagg, quite through the flagg. And that upon the Sterne of the Shipps there shall be the Red Crosse in one Escotcheon, and the Harpe in one other, being the Armes of England and Ireland, both Escotcheons joyned according to the pattern herewith sent unto you. And you are to take care that these Flaggs may be provided with all expedition for the Shipps for the Summer Guard, and that these engraveings may also be altered according to this direction with all possible expedition.—Signed in ye name and by order of ye Councell of State appointed by Authority of Parliament.—Ol. Cromwell, Derby House, February 23rd, 1648." At a Council meeting held on March 5th, it is "ordered that the Flagg that is to be borne by the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rere-Admiral be that

now presented, viz., the Armes of England and Ireland in two severall Escotcheons in a Red Flag, within a compartment"; and a contemporary representation of this Long Parliament flag may be seen on the medals bestowed on the victorious naval commanders, where the principal ship in the sea-fight represented on the reverse of the medal flies it at her masthead.

A Commonwealth standard, so-called, is preserved at the Royal United Service Museum. The ground of the flag is red, but the shields are placed directly upon it without any yellow compartment, and around them is a wreath of oak and laurel in dark green.

The ordinance for the re-union of Scotland with England and Ireland was promulgated on April 12th 1654. In the first flag following that ordinance, England and Scotland were represented by the crosses of St George and St. Andrew, and Ireland by a golden harp on a blue ground which is the correct standard of that country. These were displayed quarterly, St. George being first and fourth, Ireland second, and St. Andrew third. The standard of the Protector consisted of this flag with his escutcheon of a white lion rampant on a black field placed in the centre. The harp, however, seemed quite out of place in this flag, and another was tried in which St. George was in the first and fourth, St. Andrew in the second, and the red saltire on white daringly placed in the third as representing Ireland. This was a most unsatisfactory arrangement for visibility at sea, and the old Union was reverted to, but as Ireland was not shown on it, a golden harp was placed in the centre, and at the Restoration the harp was removed and the flag became as it was at the death of Charles I. And such it remained until the union of Ireland with Great Britain in 1801 when a new Union Flag had to be devised in which some emblem of Ireland

had to be introduced ; and for this purpose the so-called cross of St. Patrick was added.

The cross of St. Patrick is not found among the emblems of saints, and its use is in defiance of all tradition and custom. St. Patrick had no right to a cross, as he was neither crucified nor martyred, but died in his bed at the ripe old age of ninety ; and, further, he was not even a saint, for he was never canonised, and his sainthood, like his cross, is due to popular error. The saltire rouge on a field argent was the heraldic device of the Geraldines dating at least from Maurice Fitzgerald the grandson of Rhys the Great, King of South Wales, who landed in Ireland in 1169 on the invitation of King Dermot of Leinster ; and consequently it is the banner not of St. Patrick but of the Norman invader which was adroitly palmed off on the people of these islands as distinctive of the patron saint and, as we have seen, came in handy when another cross was wanted to take the place of the harp on one of the ensigns of the Commonwealth.

St. Patrick—according to the most credible story—was born in Scotland, at Dumbarton, in 373. He was the son of a Scottish deacon, which was not quite the same thing then as now. When a boy he was carried off by a band of raiders from the north of Ireland and sold as a slave to a chieftain in Antrim who set him to work tending cattle, and thought fit to change his name from Sucat to Cothraig, “signifying four families and designing to convey the circumstance of his having been purchased from the service of three persons, his masters by capture, to be employed under the fourth who so named him.” After six years, during which he picked up the Irish language, he made his escape and was taken on board a ship to look after some Irish wolfhounds that were being exported to the

East. He landed at the mouth of the Loire and took the hounds overland to Marseilles where his engagement ended. In his endeavour to improve his education in Gaul he eventually became a pupil of St. Martin of Tours under whom he studied for four years. On taking priest's orders his name was changed, for the second time, to what is phonetically written as Mawn, and on his consecration as bishop he changed his name for the third time and became Patricius; and it was as a bishop that he went from Britain to Ireland at the head of a missionary expedition, and there he died, apparently at Armagh, on the 17th day of March, 463. He did not convert all Ireland, and some tell us that he was preceded by Palladius and went to Wicklow to secure for orthodoxy the pre-Patrician Pelagian communities.

The first intimation of the composition of the new national flag was made in the Order of the King in Council of the 5th of November, 1800, and the immediate use of the flag was required by the following proclamation of the 1st of January, 1801: "Whereas by the First Article of the Articles of Union of Great Britain and Ireland it was declared: That the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should upon this day, being the First Day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and One, for ever after be united into One Kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and that the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and its Dependencies, and also the Ensigns Armorial, Flags, and Banners thereof, should be such as We, by our Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the said United Kingdom should appoint: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to appoint and declare that our Royal Style

and Titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used as the same set forth in Manner and Form following: Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor; and in the English Tongue by these words: George the Third, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith; and that the Arms or Ensigns Armorial of the said United Kingdom shall be Quarterly: first and fourth, England: second, Scotland: third, Ireland: and it is Our Will and Pleasure that there shall be borne thereon on an escutcheon of pretence, the Arms of Our Domains in Germany, ensigned with the Electoral Bonnet: and that the Union Flag shall be Azure, the Crosses Saltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick Quarterly, per Saltire counterchanged Argent and Gules: the latter fimbriated of the second, surmounted by the Cross of St. George of the third, fimbriated as the Saltire."

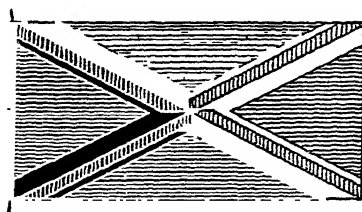
Such was the flag as described by the heralds, but as will appear on examination, it does not exactly conform to its heraldic description. This will be clear to the reader if he will make two coloured drawings, one of the flag as described in the proclamation and the other from the measurements required by the Admiralty. For some years after the union there were, as a matter of fact, two patterns—one used by the soldiers, which came from the College of Arms—whence all military flags still come—which was exactly according to the blazon; and the other issuing from the Admiralty and used afloat. There can be no doubt as to which is the more effective and more visible at a distance; and the King's Colours of our infantry regiments took on a gradual change, and as they wore out were replaced by new ones as nearly approaching the navy pattern as the heraldic conscience permitted until now there

is practically no difference except in the proportions of length and width.

The Order in Council referred to a draft or drawing of the proposed flag, and of this drawing the one accompanying the Admiralty memorandum professed to be a copy, which it may have been; but if so the heraldic draughtsman did not follow his instructions; though perhaps some practical man adjusted the design, as textile designs are adjusted to suit the loom, in the one case, as generally in the other, with a happy result. The blazon directs that the Cross of St. George shall be "fimbriated as the saltire," that is, it must have a border the same as that of the Irish saltire; but in the drawing the border of the Cross of Ireland is less than one-sixtieth the width of the flag, while in the Admiralty memorandum the border of the Cross of St. George is one-fifteenth and it is about that in the drawing. This is in no sense a fimbriation; it represents two crosses, a white one with a red one over it. According to Sir John Laughton "a fimbriation is a narrow border to separate colour from colour: it should be as narrow as possible to mark the contrast; but the white border of our St. George's Cross is not, strictly speaking, a fimbriation at all: it is a white cross of one-third the width of the flag surmounted by a red cross." The Admiralty memorandum is responsible for another difference. When two saltires are placed on the same shield or flag they should be of the same width, and such the Crosses of Scotland and Ireland should be. In the official drawing of 1800 they are nearly the same, but the Admiralty disregarding both blazon and drawing makes the Scottish saltire one tenth the breadth of the flag and the Irish saltire only one fifteenth. In short if our Union Flag agreed with its blazon the Crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick would be of the same width

and the border of St. Patrick's would be as wide as that of St. George.

As the Irish Cross was to be of the same width as the Scottish, one could not be placed over the other without obliterating it, and if the red were on the top it would show as being on a blue field instead of on a white one. It was to avoid this difficulty that the



COUNTERCHANGE OF ST. PATRICK'S
CROSS.

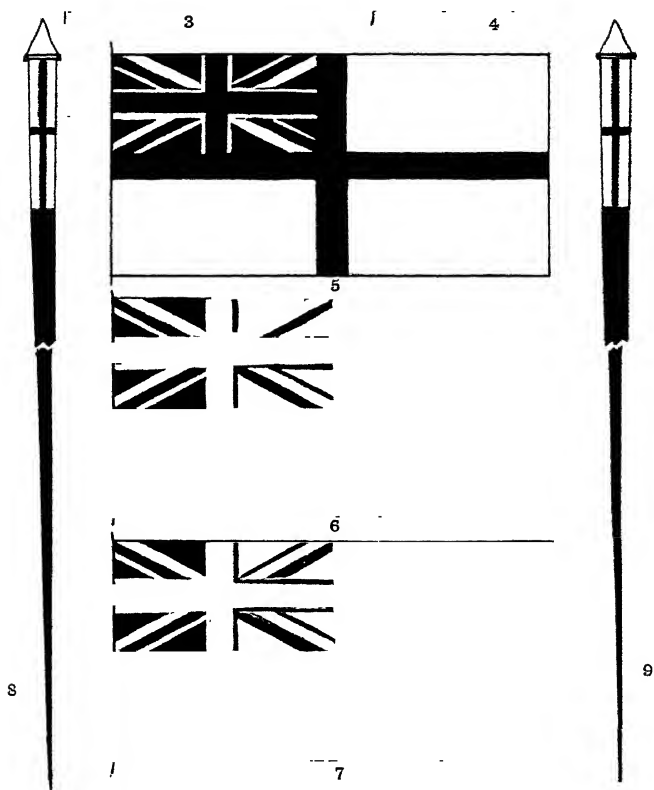
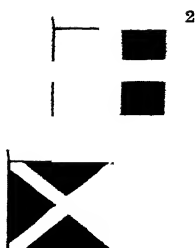
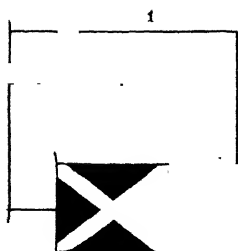
diagonals were counterchanged, that is, so arranged that in one half of the flag they are of the same colour (red) and metal (argent, that is, white) as in the other, but reversed, the red taking the place of the white and the

white that of the red—the effect being that on each half of the flag one cross appears higher than the other and the red bars are not in the middle nor continuous right across. No criticism or objection has ever come from Ireland as to the Union Flag, but in 1853, some of the Scots renewed their grievance against the Cross of St. Andrew being placed behind that of St. George “and having a red stripe run through the arms thereof, for which there is no precedent in law or heraldry”—a revelation of ignorance of which every educated Scotsman is ashamed. Scotsmen have at least the satisfaction of knowing that St. Andrew must always be on the top with his right hand in the very point of honour, and if the flag is not so hoisted it is upside down and a signal of distress.

The dimensions of the Union Flag are officially given as follows:—in the St. George's Cross the red cross is one fifth the width of the flag and its white borders one

PLATE VII.
ENSIGNS AND PENNANTS.

1. English White Ensign.
2. English Red Ensign.
3. Scottish Red Ensign.
4. Scottish Blue Ensign.
5. British White Ensign.
6. British Red Ensign.
7. British Blue Ensign.
8. The Red Pennant
9. The Blue Pennant.



fifteenth the width of the flag, that is one third the width of the red cross ; in the St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's Crosses the red is one fifteenth the width of the flags, or one third the width of St. George's Cross, that is equal to the border of that cross, the narrow white border is one thirtieth the width of the flag, or one sixth the width of the red St. George's Cross, the broad white border is one tenth the width of the flag, or one half the red of St. George's Cross, and therefore equal to the red and narrow white together.

To put it in other words, in a 10-breadth flag, that is one of 7 ft. 6 in. in the hoist, the red of St. George's Cross will be 18 in. and the white 6 in., the red of the saltires will be 6 in., the narrow white border 3 in. and the broad white border 9 in. As the breadths of the red and narrow white stripe of the saltires are together equal to the broad white stripe, it follows that the centre line of the three stripes is one edge of the red cross and forms a diagonal to the flag, the broad white being on the upper part of the cross in the quarters of the hoist and on the lower part of the cross in the quarters of the fly. In the Royal Navy the Union used to be one of the flags in a signal denoting a warship's name ; and it is still always hoisted to a salute by a gun when a court-martial meets and is kept flying during the sitting.

There are three British ensigns, the white, the blue, and the red ; the white ensign, the white flag with the red cross of St. George and the Union in the upper canton, being distinctive of the Royal Navy. For over two hundred years the Navy was divided into three squadrons, distinguished by their respective ensigns, the red squadron ranking first and the blue last, but this plan had many disadvantages. It was puzzling to foreigners, and it was necessary that each

vessel should have three sets of colours to be able to hoist the right flag for the squadron in which for the time being it might be placed. It was also awkward that, by the order of Queen Anne already noted, the peaceful merchantmen were wearing the red ensign; but the great objection was that the red and the blue were not easily distinguishable among the battle smoke and too much like some of the foreign flags when not flying clear against the sea or sky; hence at Trafalgar Nelson, who was Vice-Admiral of the White, ordered the whole of his fleet to hoist the white ensign as being more distinguishable from the French flag in action. But there were difficulties regarding the seniority of the admirals on the three lists, and it was not until July 9th, 1864, that an Order in Council put an end to this three-flag system, and declared that the white ensign alone should be the flag of the Royal Navy.

"His Majesty's Ships," so runs the Regulation, "when at anchor in Home Ports and Roads, shall hoist their colours at 8 o'clock in the morning, from 25th March to 20th September inclusive, and at 9 o'clock from 21st September to 24th March inclusive; but when abroad, at 8 or 9, as the Commander-in-Chief shall direct; and they shall be kept flying if the weather permit, or the Senior Officer present sees no objection thereto, throughout the day until sunset, when they are to be hauled down." On the hoisting of the ensign all work stops and all ranks muster on deck, standing at the salute as the band plays the opening bars of the National Anthem, the man at the halliards timing his pulls so that the ensign reaches the truck at the last note of the band, just as it reaches the deck in the evening when it is played down. When at sea, on passing, meeting, joining or parting from any other of His Majesty's ships or on falling in with any other

ship the ensign is hoisted and also when in sight of land, and especially when passing any fort, battery, lighthouse, signal station or town, or when coming to an anchor or getting under way if there be sufficient light for the colours to be seen; but "His Majesty's Ships shall not, on any account, lower their flags to any Foreign Ships whatsoever, unless the Foreign Ships shall first, or at the same time, lower their flags to them." In two of the ensigns the Union is half the length of the flag and half its width. In the white ensign the St. George is two-fifteenths the width of the flag and the Union is one-fifteenth less in length and width. Thus in a 10-breadth white ensign the red cross is 12 in. wide, and in the Union the crosses are—red 6 in., white 2 in., and in the diagonal crosses the red is 2 in. the narrow white 1 in., and the broad white 3 in.

It is a serious offence for any vessel to fly improper colours, the authority being the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, according to the 105th Section of which "if any Colours usually worn by Her Majesty's Ships, or any Colours resembling those of Her Majesty, or any distinctive National Colours, except the Red Ensign usually worn by Merchant Ships, or except the Union Jack with a White Border, or if the Pendant usually carried by Her Majesty's Ships, or any Pendant in anywise resembling such Pendant, are, or is hoisted on board any Ship or Boat belonging to any subject of Her Majesty, without warrant for so doing from Her Majesty or from the Admiralty, the Master of such Ship or Boat, or the Owner thereof, if on board the same, and every other person hoisting or joining, or assisting in hoisting, the same, shall, for every such offence, incur a penalty not exceeding Five Hundred Pounds; and it shall be lawful for any Officer on full pay in the Military or Naval Service of Her Majesty, or any British

Officer of the Customs, or any British Consular Officer, to board any such Ship or Boat, and to take away any such Jack, Colours, or Pendant : and such Jack, Colours or Pendant shall be forfeited to Her Majesty."

The "Naval Discipline Act" better known as "The Articles of War," commences with the true and noble words—"It is on the Navy, under the Good Providence of God, that our Wealth, Prosperity, and Peace depend," and the glorious traditions of this great service have been maintained to the full as effectually under the white ensign as in any former period.

The blue ensign is now distinctive of the Public Offices, the Consular Service, the Colonial Governments and their warships, of hired transports, of hired surveying vessels commanded by officers of the Royal Navy, of commissioned officers serving as Mail Agents, of the Fishery Board for Scotland, of Pacific Cable Board Ships, of Lloyds (in boats), of the Indian Marine (with badge) and of the Royal Naval Reserve, and, in a small way, in times of peace, of such of the yacht clubs as have obtained the Admiralty's permission; one yacht club alone, The Royal Yacht Squadron, being authorised to fly the white ensign. The privilege of flying the blue ensign is allowed to British merchantmen commanded by officers on the retired list of the Royal Navy, or by officers of the Royal Naval Reserve on condition that (a) the Officer commanding the ship must be one of these officers; (b) ten of the crew must be officers and men belonging to the Royal Naval Reserve who are not in arrear with their drills, though men of the Royal Fleet Reserve, Naval Pensioners, and men holding Royal Naval Reserve Deferred Pension Certificates, may be included in the number specified; (c) before hoisting the blue ensign the Officer commanding the ship must be provided with an Admiralty War-

rant; and (d) the fact that the Commanding Officer holds a Warrant authorising him to hoist the blue ensign must be noted on the ship's Articles of Agreement. In addition to this the blue ensign is worn by the British merchant ships in receipt of an Admiralty Subvention. The blue ensign is not to be worn if the Naval Officer to whom the warrant was issued is not in command of the ship; if the number of men of the Royal Naval Reserve on board is less than ten, unless it can be shown by the endorsements on the Agreement or by entries in the official log, that the reduction in the number was caused by death, sickness, desertion, joining one of His Majesty's Ships, or by some unavoidable casualty; and if these conditions are not being complied with, the Warrant is seized and returned with a report to the Admiralty, as is also the flag if it is found to be flying.

The white ensign is never flown with a badge on it, but the others are, as will be seen later on, and when the blue ensign is worn by a merchant vessel it is subject to the same law as the red. "The Red Ensign," says the Merchant Shipping Act, "usually worn by merchant ships, without any defacement or modification whatsoever, is hereby declared to be the proper national colour of all ships and boats belonging to any subject of Her Majesty, except in the case of Her Majesty's ships or boats, or in the case of any other ship or boat for the time being allowed to wear any other national colours, in pursuance of a Warrant from Her Majesty or from the Admiralty."

This Act goes on to say that any ship belonging to any British subject shall, on a signal being made to her by a ship of the Royal Navy, or on entering or leaving any foreign port, hoist the red ensign, and if of fifty tons gross tonnage or upwards, on entering or

leaving any British port also, or incur a penalty not exceeding one hundred pounds.

The earliest form of red ensign is seen in a picture at Hampton Court, representing the embarkation of William of Orange for England, in the year 1688, his ship being shown as wearing a red flag with St. George's Cross in the canton. We get, therefore, a regular sequence of red ensigns; that with St. George's Cross alone in the corner next the masthead, that with the Union of St. George and St. Andrew, and that of to-day with the Crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick.

Some knowledge of flag etiquette is valuable not only to the sailor, the soldier or the traveller, but even to the churchwarden who hoists the Royal Standard, or the Union, or the White Ensign on the church tower, whereas the proper flag is that of St. George, irrespective of the saint to whom the church may have been dedicated. Some churchwardens are of opinion that, when the living is in the gift of the Crown or the incumbent is a King's Chaplain, they have a right to fly the white ensign, but they would soon have to pay for their mistake if the church got afloat.

To those who know anything about flags the sort of outburst of silk, bunting, jute and cotton that takes place on any occasion of public rejoicing is simply deplorable. The mere disfigurements of the handkerchief type may be forgiven, seeing that to some people any coloured piece of stuff that will flutter in the wind is a decoration; but what is so particularly offensive is the ignorance displayed in the treatment of recognized flags and their wretched imitations. In every town, even in London, notwithstanding the prohibition against its use, you will find the Royal Standard betokening the presence in the house of some member of the Royal

Family representing the King in too many places for it to be possible that all the people displaying it can be entertaining so distinguished a guest; and in some cases the flag, like the Scottish Standard of similar meaning, is upside down or half-way round. You will come across red flags, the symbol of revolution or the sign of a powder magazine; or yellow ones indicating that such houses are nests of infection; or green ones proclaiming that they are on the site of a wreck; and in nearly every street you will descry the Union, the three Ensigns—white, blue, and red—even the Stars and Stripes, the numerous Tricolours, and many others capsized in token of distress. And mistakes like these are met with at other times in most unlikely places. The writer once found the Imperial Institute flying the Union wrong way up, and he called in and told the secretary, whereupon the commissionaire was promptly despatched to “get that flag down and hoist it in the right way; couldn’t you see the toggle?”

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CHAPTER III

FLAGS OF THE NAVY, ARMY, AND PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS

THE flag of the British Admiralty was introduced by James, Duke of York, afterwards James II, as Lord High Admiral and Lord General of the Navy; and in 1725 it was adopted by the Lords Commissioners. As then flown it had the cable twisted round the anchor, converting it into the seamen's horror, a foul anchor; and the anchor was not cleared until 1815, when the change was made only in the flag so that the foul anchor still appears on the buttons of our naval uniform. It should be noticed that the cable is now passed under both flukes, and not under one and over the other as occasionally figured. For years it was flown over the Whitehall front of the Admiralty where it is now replaced by the white ensign. Up to June 28th, 1707, it was the flag of the English Admiralty only, the Lord High Admiral of Scotland being a separate office; the first Lord High Admiral of Great Britain being Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne.

The Admiralty flag does not return salutes, but whenever may be deemed necessary by My Lords orders are given by signal or otherwise for some other ship in company to return the salute of a foreign warship gun for gun. The flag is hoisted when the Lords of the Admiralty are embarked, and it is hoisted on the

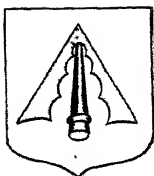
foremast of the Royal Yacht whenever the Sovereign is on board. The King is the head of the Navy and the Lords Commissioners come next, so the Royal Standard flies at the main, for the main is more honourable than the fore.

Next in rank in the Navy comes the flag of an Admiral of the Fleet which is simply the Union; then comes the flag of an Admiral, which, as already mentioned, is the old English national flag—the Cross of St. George. A Vice-Admiral flies the same flag with one red ball, half the vertical depth of the white, in the upper canton, and a Rear-Admiral has a ball of similar proportions in both the white sections of the hoist, while a Commodore has the St. George's Cross on a broad pennant which is cut in the fly; the long narrow white pennant being that of the Captain, or in smaller vessels the commanding officer of whatever rank, who holds the commission to command the ship. Two other white pennants are seen afloat both of them short in the fly, one being carried by merchant ships having the Royal Mail aboard which has a red crown and post-horn besides the inscription, and the other the C signal pennant with the red ball which by itself means Yes; but signals can be more conveniently dealt with in a separate chapter later on.

Passing from the Navy to the Army we have already seen that standards are borne by the Life Guards, Horse Guards and Dragoon Guards, and guidons by the Royal Dragoons, Scots Greys and Inniskillings—that is so far as the regular army is concerned, the Yeomanry, which is a Territorial force, being also entitled to carry guidons. Hussars, Lancers, Royal Artillery, and Engineers have no colours; but each battalion of infantry other than the rifle regiments has two, known as the King's Colour representing the nation, and the Regi-

mental Colour representing the regiment ; the first, except in the Guards, being the Union with a crown and the name of the regiment in the centre, the other being of the colour of the facings of the regiment with a broad St. George's Cross on it when the facings are white. In all cases this colour bears the regimental badges, mottoes, and honours, that is the names of the battles in which the regiment has taken part. The only other flags, except those used afloat and for signalling purposes, assigned to the army are the camp colours which are eighteen inches square and of the colour of the facings of the regiment using them, with the abbreviated title of the regiment upon them as worn on the shoulder-straps of the non-commissioned officers and men ; and the saluting colour, which is an ordinary camp colour bearing a transverse red cross, or, when the facings are scarlet—as in the Duke of Wellington's regiment—a transverse blue cross.

The King's Colour, like the other, is of silk. It is used for military purposes on land only and should never be called the Union Jack which in its turn should never be described as the King's Colour as is done, colour plate and all complete, in *The American Flag* issued officially by the New York State Education Department in 1910. An author who does not know the Union Jack is not quite a safe guide for the children of New York or any other state. The King's Regulations are clear with regard to this matter in their section about flags : the Union Jack, being the distinguishing flag of an Admiral of the Fleet only, is not allowed to be flown on military boats and vessels, but War Department vessels and boats are authorized to carry the blue ensign with these two devices : for General Service (Army Service Corps) crossed swords are used, for Royal Artillery and Ordnance Services—that is boats manned by crews of



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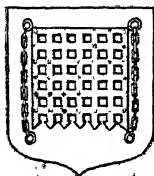
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PLATE VIII.
ROYAL BADGES.

1. Richard I—Pheon.
2. Richard I—Star and crescent.
3. Edward II—Castle of Castile.
4. Edward III—Feather.
5. Edward III—Fleur-de-lis.
6. Richard II—Rising Sun.
7. Richard II—White hart.
8. Henry IV—Red rose.
9. Henry VI—Two feathers
10. Edward IV—White rose
11. Edward IV—Falcon and fetterlock
12. Henry VII—Tudor rose
13. Henry VII—Portcullis.
14. Anne—Rose, shamrock and thistle.

the Royal Artillery or Army Ordnance Corps—the Ordnance arms are the proper badge; and a special Union bearing in its centre, as a distinguishing mark, the Royal cypher surrounded by a garland on a blue shield and surmounted by a crown, has to be flown by general officers commanding when afloat.

The colours are the representatives of the old banners, the regiment representing the baron's array made up of the companies which represent the retinue of the knights; hence in the old days there was a stand of colours to every company. These colours were called ensigns when infantry were first organized into regiments and for some time after. At Edgehill, however, we read of King Charles's Royal Regiment of Foot-Guards losing eleven out of thirteen colours; and at the beginning of our standing army in 1660, or rather 1661, we have a Royal Warrant, dated February 13th, authorizing the newly raised Foot-Guards to have twelve stands of colours, thus—"Our Will and pleasure is, and we do hereby require you forthwith to cause to be made and provided twelve Colours or Ensigns for our Regiment of Foot-Guards, of white and red taffeta, of the usual largeness, with stands, heads, and tassells, each of which to have such distinctions of some of our Royal Badges painted in oil, as our trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter Principal King-at-Arms, shall direct."

The Guards have always had little ways of their own to distinguish them from the Line. They not only have company colours, which bear the badges of our Kings and Queens, but they reverse the usual practice in making the Union their Regimental Colour, their King's Colour being crimson. The battalions are known by the royal badges on this flag. The first and third battalions of the Grenadiers bear an imperial crown

over a grenade, the third being distinguishable from the first by a pile wavy issuing from the small Union like a golden tongue; the second battalion is known by the crown and royal cypher being over the grenade. The thirty company badges are borne in rotation, three at a time on the Regimental Colour of each of the battalions, the badge being placed in the centre of the Union with an imperial crown above it. The first and third battalions of the Coldstreams have in the centre of the crimson flag a garter star with a crown over it, and under the star is a sphinx superscribed Egypt, the third differing from the first in having the golden tongue as with the Grenadiers; the second battalion being distinguished by an eight-pointed silver star within the garter, the crown, sphinx and motto being the same as with the others. The twenty-four company badges are also borne in rotation three at a time, and these are placed in the centre of the Union with the crown above and the sphinx below. The Scots Guards distinguish one battalion from the other by the first bearing the royal arms of Scotland and the motto "En! Ferus Hostis," with the crown above and the sphinx below; the second having the thistle and the red and white roses with "Unita Fortior" as the motto; the company badges being also borne in rotation on the Regimental Colour, three at a time. With the Irish Guards in each battalion the eight company badges are also borne in rotation, the King's Colour having the royal monogram within the collar of the Order of St. Patrick surmounted by the crown. We have mentioned the Guards first as being an exception to the general rule; in precedence, however, they rank after the cavalry, Royal Artillery and Engineers, and a few words must be given to the thirteen of these corps who carry colours.

Standards and guidons are always crimson in the

British army. The standards of the two regiments of Life Guards are almost identical. All three bear the Royal Arms as a badge and begin their battle honours with Dettingen, the Blues differing from the others in bearing in addition to theirs Willems, and Beaumont, where, on June 26th, 1794, thirteen squadrons of British cavalry and six of Austrian routed 20,000 infantry, and Warburg where the colonel of the Blues, the Marquis of Granby, after a high trot of five miles led them hatless in the charge, "going bald-headed for the enemy," and thus originated the well-known phrase.

The seven regiments of Dragoon Guards bear a white horse on their standards at each of the opposite corners. The First, or King's Dragoon Guards, have the royal cypher within the garter and I.K.D.G. on a blue label at the corners not occupied by the white horses. The Second bear the cypher of Queen Charlotte, after whom they are called the Queen's Bays, and at the opposite corners to the horses are two II.D.G. buff labels, the regimental facings being of that colour. The Third being the Prince of Wales's Dragoon Guards have the plume of feathers, and the four corners of the standard are occupied by the two white horses and the rising sun and the red dragon. The Fourth being the Royal Irish Dragoon Guards have the harp and crown over the St. Patrick star, the corners being occupied by the horses and blue labels with IV.R.I.D.G. on them. The Fifth have V.D.G. in the centre and white horses at three of the corners, the other corner having a rose, shamrock and thistle; their motto is the "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*" of John Hampden's regiment, and green being the colour of their facings they are known as the Green Horse. The Sixth are the Carabiniers; they have VI.D.G. in the centre of their standard, with two rose, shamrock, and thistle badges in the

corners on a white label, their facings being white ; and the Seventh, known as the Black Horse from their facings, have VII.D.G. in the garter, with the rose, shamrock and thistle in two of the corners. The three guidons also have the two Hanover horses in the opposite corners. The Royal Dragoons, who are the First Regiment of Cavalry of the Line, have the crest of England, that is the lion on the crown, within the garter, and their motto is "Spectemur agendo," which may be rendered "Judge us by what we do"; the Royal Scots Greys, who are the Second of the line cavalry—whence the point of their motto "Second to None"—have the thistle within its motto ; and the Inniskilling Dragoons, the Sixth of the line cavalry, have the castle of Inniskilling within the garter, the number labels being primrose, like their facings, while those of the other two dragoon regiments being royal regiments, are blue. The Greys are the only British cavalry wearing bearskins. They won them at Ramillies in their terrible charge on the French King's body-guard which they utterly defeated, capturing its colours and possessing themselves of its fur caps which they substituted for their own cocked hats.

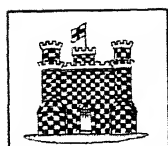
In our infantry of the line the regimental colour, as we have said, corresponds with the facings—that is the collar and cuffs, etc., of the coat—and as all royal regiments have blue facings their regimental colours are blue and like all the rest are a yard high and a yard and a quarter long, borne on a staff that measures eight feet seven inches, surmounted by the lion standing on a crown. In the old days the colours were carried in battle, but, owing to the changes brought about in modern warfare by modern weapons, they have, since 1880, been kept at home with the *dépôt* of the battalion.

It was in 1811 that the order was issued regulating the colours of the army which officially sanctioned the

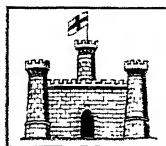
PLATE IX.

BADGES OF REGIMENTAL COLOURS—I

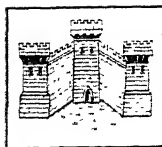
1. Castle of Inniskilling (6th Dragoons).
2. Castle of Inniskilling (R.I.F.).
3. Castle of Exeter.
4. Castle of Edinburgh.
5. Castle of Gibraltar.
6. Dragon rampant.
7. Dragon passant.
8. Dragon, Chinese.
9. White Horse of Hanover.
10. Royal Tiger.
11. Elephant.
12. Elephant caparisoned.
13. Elephant with howdah.
14. Sphinx.
15. Paschal Lamb
16. Cat and Boar
17. Antelope.
18. Lion of England.



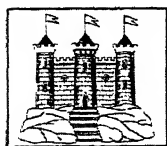
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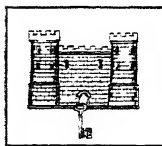
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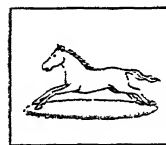
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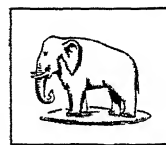
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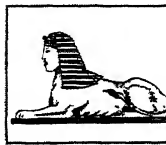
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17



18

practice of placing on the regimental colour the names of the victories in which the corps had distinguished itself. At first the list was limited to battles beginning with Minden, but, after many years, earlier victories were allowed to appear, and others are being added, so that the long list must evidently come to an end some day for want of space to put the glories on. The Royal Scots, for instance, begin their honour-roll with Tangier, 1680, and proceed with Namur, 1695, and the four Marlborough victories and about a couple of dozen more. But though the honours grow, the badge forming the distinguishing centre of the flag remains unaltered, as a rule, and with these badges we must deal.

Of those already mentioned the white horse of Hanover shows that the regiment fought for the two first Georges in the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745; the other white horse, the rampant one, is the badge of Kent and does not now appear on the colours but on the head-gear of the Royal West Kent. The rose, slipped and leaved with the crown above, is the badge of the six regiments represented in Holland under Monmouth in 1673-74, and the lion of Nassau is for Namur in 1695. There are five different castles borne on the colours, including the two versions of that of Inniskilling the first of which has the middle tower lower than the other two and is borne by the Sixth Dragoons, that of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers having the middle tower higher than the others, and in both cases the middle tower flies the Cross of St. George. The castle of Exeter has three towers of equal height in a triangular courtyard and without a flag; that of Edinburgh has three round towers of equal height, each flying a broad pennant, the castle being on a rock with steps up to it; that of Gibraltar has always a key below it and distinguishes the regiments that took part in

Elliott's famous defence in 1779-83. There are three dragons, two red and one green, the green one being for service in China. The sphinx is for service in Egypt; the tiger for service in Bengal; the elephant for service in India; the mural crown for Sale's defence of Jellalabad; the naval crown for service afloat as marines; and the maple leaf for Canada where the battalion was raised in 1858. In a general way this must suffice; others, with these, will be met with in the course of our rapid run through the regiments.

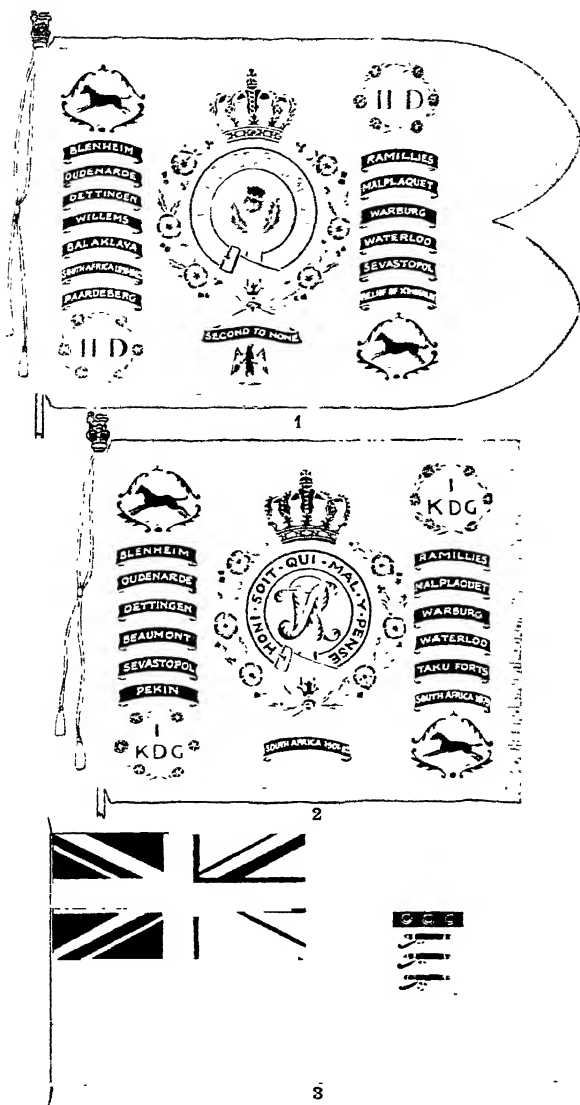
The Royal Scots were known as Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard as far back as 1637, two years after they had been formed into one regiment by the union of the Scots Brigade—which fought under Gustavus Adolphus—with the Scottish Archers that had been the guard of the Kings of France since the days of St. Louis. The regiment when under the command of Lord James Douglas was called home by Charles II to join the British army and continues to be the first of our infantry of the line. The colour bears the royal cypher within the collar of the thistle to which is hung the badge of the order showing St. Andrew in front of his cross; and in each corner is the crowned thistle, and at the base of the flag is the sphinx.

The Queen's (Royal West Surrey) has the cypher of Queen Catherine of Braganza within the garter; and in each corner is her crest of the Paschal Lamb, whence the "Kirke's Lambs" of Monmouth's rebellion. It was raised as the Tangier Regiment in 1661 and the honour-roll begins with Tangier, 1662, thus scoring a point over the Royal Scots. It also has the sphinx and, in addition, a naval crown in memory of having served as marines in Lord Howe's victory of June 1st, 1794. Tangier it will be remembered was part of the dowry of Charles's queen which these and other troops

PLATE X.

MILITARY FLAGS—I.

1. Guidon of the Royal Scots Greys.
2. Standard of the King's Dragoon Guards.
3. War Office, Ordnance Flag.



were raised to protect, and hence the Braganza badges. The colour bears two mottoes, "*Pristinæ virtutis memor*"—"mindful of ancient valour"—and "*Vel exuvie triumphans*"—"even the remnant triumph"—the latter from the regiment's twenty-eight-hour fight at Tongres in 1703.

The Buffs are the men of Kent as distinct from the Queen's Own who are the Kentish men. Their facings are buff; their regimental colour is buff, and it bears the dragon—which is said to be intended for the griffin of the city of London arms—with a crowned Tudor rose in the corners. They claim to have fought at Zutphen under Philip Sidney and have the privilege of marching through the city of London with bayonets fixed and drums beating, like the Royal Marines and the third battalion of Grenadier Guards, owing to their having been originally recruited in 1572 out of the London Train Bands or, as it should be, Trained Bands. For years they served in Holland and did not return to England until 1665 when Charles II recalled them to become the fourth, and soon afterwards, the third of the line. Among their honours is Albuhera where their colours were saved by the heroism of their bearers. Ensign Thomas was cut down and his flag seized, but the survivors recovered it in the struggle over his body. The staff of the other flag, which was borne by Ensign Walsh, was broken, and Walsh, being himself severely wounded, tore off the flag and thrust it in his breast, where it was found, saturated with blood, after the battle. The flag of the 29th was similarly saved by Ensign Vance, who fell a little later in the day. Well has Kipling written that "on the bones of the English the English flag is stayed."

The King's Own (Royal Lancaster) has of course a blue regimental colour, and it bears the royal cypher within the garter with the lion of England at each corner.

It began as the Second Tangier Regiment, but it begins its honour-roll with Namur and includes Bladensburg, where Ross's victory over the Americans in 1812 led to our capture of the city of Washington.

The facings of the Northumberland Fusiliers are gosling green, so-called after one of their colonels, and their regimental colour corresponds. It bears the George and Dragon and, in each corner, a red and white rose slipped with a crown above it. The honour-roll begins with Wilhelmstahl, which is the same battle as Willems on the standard of the Blues. This was one of Granby's battles, under the Prince of Brunswick of course, in 1762, where the Fusiliers defeated the French Grenadiers and won their fur caps, the red and white plume being the white plume dipped in the blood of the French in St. Lucia.

The Royal Warwickshire carry the antelope with the crowned red and white rose in the corners, the antelope being from their defeat of the Royal Africans at Saragossa, on August 20th, 1710, though it is one of the royal badges and was a supporter of the royal arms of the Lancastrian kings. The honours begin with Namur, 1695, followed by Martinique, 1794. The Royal Fusiliers also bear Namur, 1695, followed by Martinique but it is the Martinique of 1809. Their colour has the united red and white rose within the garter with the white horse in each of the corners. They began as the Tower Guards and had their name changed to Our Royal Regiment of Fusiliers in 1685; in short they are the original fusiliers and are the City of London Regiment. The fusil was shorter and of smaller bore than the musket and had a flintlock instead of a burning match; and it was a lighter and handier weapon. Fusiliers were introduced for the protection of artillery, and carried with them "turnpikes"—that is *chevaux-de-*

frises—in sections, a bar being carried by each man, and the spar, through which the bars were pushed, was carried by two men in turn—a nice, light equipment, to provide for which fusils were, for the first time, provided with slings, so that the men could hang them over their backs and keep their hands free.

The King's (Liverpool Regiment) bears the white horse in the centre of its blue colour with the royal cypher in each of its corners, and it also has the sphinx. It began as the Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment and was called the King's for having done well and suffered much at Dunblane in the Fifteen, whence also the Hanover horse. The motto is the "*Nec aspera terrent*," that is "nor do difficulties frighten us," which generally goes with the white horse. The honour-roll begins with Blenheim, but the regiment's first service was at the battle of the Boyne.

The Norfolk Regiment has yellow facings and a yellow colour bearing the figure of Britannia given it by Queen Anne for its gallantry at Almanza in 1707, and the motto is "*Quo fata vocant*"—"where the fates call us." Its honour-roll begins with Havannah captured by the Earl of Albemarle in 1762. The Lincolnshire Regiment bears on its white colour the sphinx; and the battle-roll begins with Blenheim. When first raised under Sir John Greville in 1685 this was the only regiment of infantry in blue uniform.

The Devonshire, with the castle of Exeter and the motto "*Semper fidelis*" on its green colour, is the old Bloody Eleventh of Salamanca. It began business with the battle of the Boyne, but its roll of honour is headed by Dettingen. The Suffolk has on its yellow colour the Gibraltar castle and key, and as usual the motto "*Montis insignia Calpe*," that is "the badge of Mount Calpe" otherwise Gibraltar. Its honours begin

with Dettingen followed by Minden, and include Seringapatam.

Prince Albert's (Somerset Light Infantry) is distinguished from all other regiments of the army by bearing on its blue colour a mural crown with Jellalabad over it, and the colour also bears the sphinx. This is the regiment which, under Robert Sale, held the Afghans at bay at Jellalabad and foiled all their efforts, though earthquakes rent his mounds and filled his trenches. Its honour-roll begins with Gibraltar, 1704-5, that is its capture and first siege. The Prince of Wales's Own (West Yorkshire) has buff facings, and its regimental colour bears the three-feather plume, the white horse and the tiger; the battle-roll begins with Namur, 1695, followed by Tournay where the Duke of York defeated the French in 1794, and it includes Java which Auchmuty took from the Dutch in 1811.

Three white colours follow. The East Yorkshire is distinguished by its white facings, its white flag, and its white rose; and its battle-roll, beginning with Blenheim, is noticeable for its Martinique, 1762, and Martinique, 1794, 1809, besides Havannah, Louisburg, and Quebec, 1759. The Bedfordshire has also a white flag, but it bears the united red and white rose, and its battle-roll begins with Namur and includes Surinam. The Leicestershire on its white colour has the royal tiger superscribed Hindoostan; its honours also begin with Namur and include Affghanistan, 1839, and Afghanistan, 1878-79, an instance of the change in spelling during forty years.

The Royal Irish bear the harp and crown on their blue colour with the lion of Nassau in the corners (for Namur) and also the sphinx for Egypt and the dragon for China. The motto is "*Virtutis Namurcensis Præmium*" ("Valour's reward at Namur"), and the

battle-roll begins with Namur. Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment) has a green colour with that royal lady's cypher and coronet, and its honours begin with Malplaquet. The Lancashire Fusiliers have a white colour with the sphinx and red rose and the motto "Omnia audax." Their honours begin with Dettingen and include Minden, and the regiment sports roses every 1st of August in memory of those they took from a garden and put in their hats before that battle began. The roll also includes Maida where the French and British first crossed bayonets in the Napoleon wars.

The Royal Scots Fusiliers have the thistle within the garter and the "Nemo me impune lacessit" motto, and in each corner is the royal cypher and crown. The regiment began as the Earl of Mar's and wore grey breeches; it soon became fusiliers and then Scots Fusiliers and then, in 1712, Royal North British Fusiliers a title it retained until 1877 when the Scots Fusiliers became the Scots Guards and released the title which was thereupon restored to the old regiment. The honours begin with Blenheim and include Dettingen and Bladensburg. The Cheshire Regiment has buff, that is cheese-coloured, facings and the flag corresponds. Its central device is the Tudor rose. This is a genuine territorial regiment, having been raised in Chester in 1689 and recruited in Cheshire ever since; in 1751 it became the 22nd Foot, whence its nickname of the two-twos; in 1782 it extended its title to the 22nd (The Cheshire Regiment of Foot), and in 1881 it lost its number. Its honour-roll begins with Louisburg with which the conquest of Canada began, and includes Scinde for its work under Sir Charles Napier in 1842-43.

The Royal Welsh Fusiliers bear on their colour the plume of the Prince of Wales and the sphinx with the rising sun in the first and fourth corners, the red

dragon in the second corner and the white horse and its motto in the third. They began as Colonel Lord Herbert's Regiment in 1688, and were Royal Welsh Fusiliers as long ago as 1714. Their honour-roll begins with Namur and includes the Marlborough victories, Dettingen, Minden, many of the Wellington victories, and many more. Next to them come the South Wales Borderers with green facings, their flag bearing the sphinx and a long honour-roll beginning with Blenheim and including the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, 1806. They started in 1680 as Dering's Regiment, of which Marlborough was an officer until his transfer to the Guards. From 1717 to 1737 they were Howard's Greens; in 1751 they became the 24th Foot, and in 1782 the 24th (2nd Warwickshire); and in 1881 they received their new territorial name.

Following them in precedence are the King's Own Borderers formed in 1689 as the Edinburgh Regiment and holding their present title since 1805 when George III gave them their badge of the royal crest and the motto "*In veritate religionis confide*" ("Trust in the truth of religion") which occupy the first and fourth corners of their colour, the other mottoes being the "*Nec aspera terrent*" with the white horse in the other corners, and the "*Nisi Dominus frustra*" ("Unless the Lord build the house the labour is vain") which goes with the castle of Edinburgh that forms the central device. The colour is blue, for they are a royal regiment, and it bears the sphinx as well as the castle, and the honours begin with Namur and include Minden and Egmont-op-Zee which was fought in October, 1799. The next regiment being the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) has no colours and does not concern us.

The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers have their castle in the centre of their blue colour and the Hanover horse

and motto at each corner, and they also have the sphinx. The Gloucestershires bear the sphinx on their white regimental colour and a long honour-roll of over thirty victories beginning with Ramillies. The Worcestershires have the Tudor rose and a naval crown. The East Lancashires have the sphinx and the motto "Spectamur agendo," and their roll of victories begins with the capture of Gibraltar in 1704. The East Surrey also begins its honour-roll with that capture, the central device of its white colour being the Tudor rose; and the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry has a similar commencement to its list, and Dettingen comes next in both cases so that you have to read down to the third, the Martinique, 1794, in the one case and St. Lucia, 1778, in the latter, before you are sure of your identification, both colours being white and having the Tudor rose.

There is no doubt about the regimental colour of the Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment for it bears in its centre the Iron Duke's crest and his motto "Virtutis fortuna comes" which may be rendered "Luck the friend of pluck." This is the only regiment in our army named after a subject not of royal birth, and it takes its name from its first battalion, the old 33rd which Wellington joined as a major in 1793. The elephant with howdah on its scarlet colour—for its facings are scarlet—it obtained from its second battalion the old 76th. Its honours begin with Dettingen and, thanks to both battalions, it has seen service in some seventy battles since it started as the Earl of Huntingdon's Regiment in 1702.

The Border Regiment, a combination of the old Cumberland and Westmorlands, bears on its yellow colour the former's laurel wreath for Fontenoy, where it gallantly covered the retreat, and the latter's dragon for China in 1842. Its honour-roll opens with Havannah, followed

by St. Lucia, 1778, and includes Arroyo des Molinos, where in 1811 the 34th of the British line defeated the 34th of the French line and captured its drums and drum-major's staff which it used for many years, the number coming in so handy. When the French battalion surrendered, the French officers embraced their English captors, exclaiming "Ah, messieurs, nous sommes des frères, nous sommes du trente-quatrième régiment tous deux. Vous êtes des braves. Les Anglais se battent toujours avec loyauté et traitent bien leurs prisonniers"—and the Borderers took care that they were well treated. No other regiment has Arroyo on its colours.

The Royal Sussex bears the white feather which it won on the Heights of Abraham where it defeated Montcalm's most distinguished corps the Rousillon Regiment and took from it its proud white feather, known officially as the Rousillon plume. How the white feather came to be popularly regarded as a symbol of cowardice is unknown, but it is a remarkable fact that at the outbreak of the war with Germany in 1914 some busybody proposed that a white feather should be presented by young women to young men in the seaside towns of the south as a broad hint that they ought to join the army if they had any bravery in them; and along the coast of Sussex there were girls, old and young, presenting as the emblem of cowardice the glorious badge of their gallant local regiment whose headquarters are at Chichester. The first battalion of the Royal Sussex first saw service at Cadiz in 1702, and the second battalion started in 1854 as the 3rd Bengal European Infantry. The roll of honour begins with the capture of Gibraltar in 1704 and includes Louisburg, Quebec, Martinique, 1762, Havannah, St. Lucia, 1778, and that terrible bayonet fight at Maida when Napoleon's veterans first met a charge of British infantry and were simply swept away. The Maltese

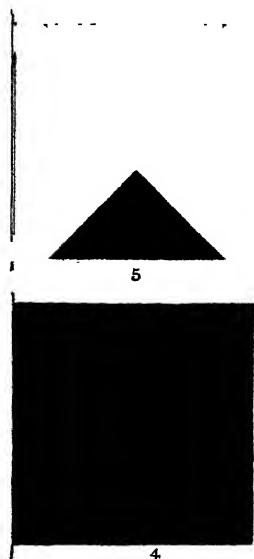
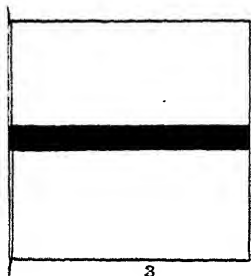
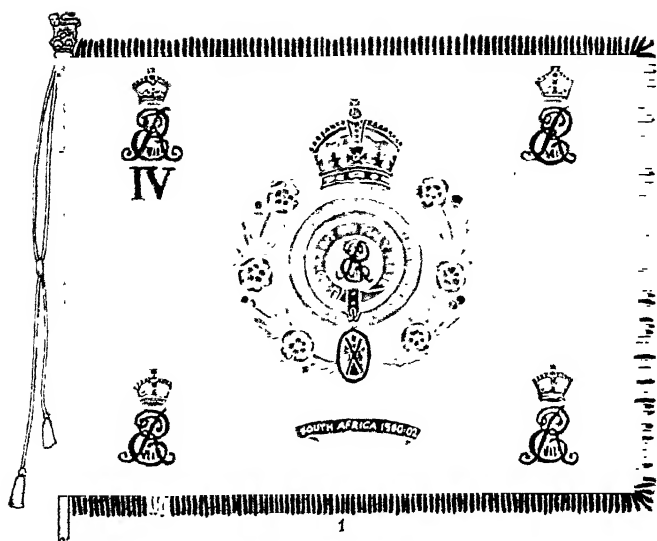


PLATE XI.

MILITARY FLAGS—2.

1. Regimental Colour, 4th Battalion the Black Watch
(Royal Highlanders)
2. Camp Colour of the Highland Light Infantry.
3. Signalling Flag for dark backgrounds
4. Signalling Flag for light backgrounds.
5. Saluting Colour of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment.
6. Lance pennon.

Cross now borne in front of the feather is in memory of the capture of Malta in 1800.

The Hampshire Regiment combines the old 37th with the old 67th, and as both had yellow facings the present facings are yellow, and so is the regimental colour which bears the tiger won by the second battalion. The honour-roll begins with Blenheim and the other Marlborough victories and includes Dettingen and Tournay. The South Staffordshire has white facings and its colour bears the sphinx. Its honours begin with Guadaloupe, 1759, now Guadeloupe, the island with the name as spelled on our colours being on the other side of America; Martinique, 1762, comes next on the list, which is a very long one.

The Dorsetshires were *Primus in Indis*—who does not remember Macaulay's description of Plassey? "Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*." They are the old 39th combined with the old 54th, and their grass green colour bears the Gibraltar castle, key and motto, and the sphinx now superscribed Egypt but formerly labelled Marabout which was captured by the second battalion in 1801 and now appears among the honours that begin with Plassey.

The Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment) are a combination of the Fighting Fortieth with the 82nd. They have white facings, not being a royal regiment, and their white colour bears the Prince of Wales's plume and the sphinx. They have never had anything to do with Wales or its Prince, the reason for the name being that the colonel who raised the second battalion in 1793 held some office in the Prince of Wales's

household and judged it to be a good title to recruit with. It is a distinguished regiment, and the combination has given it a long battle roll beginning with Louisburg and including the old Cabool, 1842.

The Welsh Regiment has the rose and thistle within the garter, with the royal cypher in the first and fourth corners of its white colour and the Prince of Wales's plume in the other corners, the motto being "Gwell angau na Chywilydd" (better death than shame) which was given to the regiment in 1822 when after beginning as the 41st (Royal Invalids) it became the 41st (Royal Welsh). Its second battalion is the old 69th who gave the flag its naval crown, the date—April 12, 1782—being that of Rodney's defeat of De Grasse off Martinique. For some years afterwards the 69th served as marines, and they were Nelson's Old Agamemnons who at St. Vincent in February, 1797, helped to board the *San Nicolas*, their officer, Pierson, dropping on to the deck from the spritsail yard while a private dashed in the window of the quarter gallery from the fore chains of Nelson's ship and led the boarding column. The honour-roll begins with Martinique, 1762, followed by St. Vincent—the sole instance of a naval victory being recorded on a military colour—and among the other entries are the capture of the island of Bourbon in 1809 and that of Java in 1811, and a batch of victories over the Americans in their futile attempt to annex Canada in 1812.

The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) have the royal cypher within the garter and the badge and motto of the order of the thistle, and also the sphinx, on their blue colour, with the crowned cypher in each of its corners. The battle-roll is a long record of gallant service. It begins with Guadaloupe, 1759, and includes among some thirty others, North America, 1763-64, the Iroquois

campaign under Bradstreet, and Mangalore, for the repulse of Tippoo in 1783; and the regiment carries another honour not on its colours but on the cap, and that is the red hackle won at Gueldermalsen in Holland under Dundas in January 1795.

The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry bear the Tudor rose and begin their honours with Quebec, 1759. The name dates from 1881 when the old 43rd (Monmouthshire Light Infantry) were combined with the old 52nd (Oxfordshire Light Infantry) who played such a distinguished part under Colborne at Waterloo. The combination was quite a happy one, for the regiments had frequently fought side by side, but the substitution of Buckinghamshire for Monmouth and the reversal of the title was anything but pleasing though rendered necessary by the territorial reorganization. The connection of the famous old 43rd with Monmouth began in 1782, and it was of one of its colours in Monmouth Church that Sir Edward Hamley wrote—

“ A moth-eaten rag on a worm-eaten pole,
It does not look likely to stir a man's soul.
'Tis the deeds that were done 'neath the moth-eaten rag,
When the pole was a staff, and the rag was a flag.

For on many a morn in our grandfathers' days,
When the bright sun of Portugal broke through the haze,
Disclosing the armies arrayed in their might,
It showed the old flag in the front of the fight.

* * * * *

And whenever it chanced that a battle was nigh,
They saw it then hung like a sign in the sky;
And they soon learned to know it—its crimson and white—
O'er the lines of red coats and of bayonets bright.

* * * * *

In the church, where it hangs when the moon gilds the
graves
And the aisles and the arches, it swells and it waves;

While, below, a faint sound as of combat is heard
From the ghostly array of the old Forty-Third."

The Essex Regiment has on its white colour the Gibraltar badge and motto, and in addition to the sphinx has an eagle; its honours begin with the castle of Moro in 1762 where the second battalion distinguished itself during the attack on Havannah which comes next to it. The Sherwood Foresters have Lincoln green facings, and sport the Tudor rose on their colour. The first battalion began in 1741 as the 2nd (Green) Marines and did not become the Nottinghamshire until 1782; the second battalion started as the 95th Derbyshire in 1824, filling a number that was once held by the old rifles, whence "I'm Ninety-five" the march tune of the Rifle Brigade. The honours begin with Louisburg, as do those of the Loyal North Lancashires who bear the red rose on their white colour. Their first battalion is the old 47th, Wolfe's Own, and the Louisburg is of course followed by Quebec, 1759. The same Canadian victories head the honour-roll of the Northamptonshires whose white colour displays the Gibraltar insignia and the sphinx. Princess Charlotte of Wales's (Royal Berkshire Regiment) bears the green dragon and opens its battle-roll with St. Lucia, 1778, Egmont-op-Zee, and Copenhagen where in 1807, Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, fought his first battle in Europe. The Queen's Own (Royal West Kent) has its motto "*Quo fas et gloria ducunt*" from its second battalion, the old 97th, and the sphinx from its first, the old Half Hundreth with the black facings. It was made a royal regiment in 1881, and when in place of its old black regimental colour it received one of royal blue, the old colours were reverently burnt and the ashes placed in the lid of the regimental snuff-box which is made out of the wood of the staff, and on it are engraved the names of those who bore the old colours in battle. The honours

now begin with Vimiera and include Hill's escalade of Almaraz in 1812.

The King's Own (Yorkshire Light Infantry) have blue facings and display the white rose and a motto—"Cede nullis"—which was that of their second battalion, the 105th Madras Light Infantry. Their honours are headed by Minden. Those of the King's (Shropshire Light Infantry) are headed by Nieuport where the French were driven from the siege in 1793. Being also a royal regiment, their colour is blue, and it bears the Tudor rose and "Aucto splendore resurgo" which its second battalion received in 1821. The Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) has lemon-yellow facings. Its colour obtained the Prince of Wales's plume from the East Middlesex (its second battalion) and the Duke of Cambridge's cypher and coronet in the corners from the West Middlesex, the old 57th. The honour-roll leads off with Mysore and Seringapatam, and then comes Albuera, the Albuera of glorious memory, where out of 570 the 57th lost 423. "Die hard, my men, die hard!"—whence their nickname of Die-hards—said Colonel Inglis as he rallied his men again and again, and the call was nobly responded to; and at the victorious finish the colours had thirty bullet holes in them.

The Duke of Edinburgh's (Wiltshire) is not a royal regiment and its colour is buff, with the duke's cypher and coronet in the corners. Its first battalion is the old 62nd which wore the splashed buttons in memory of their having used up their ammunition and fired away their buttons for bullets in their successful defence of Carrickfergus castle against the French invaders in 1760; the second battalion is the old Lanarkshire that was the 99th. The honours begin with Louisburg, followed by Nive and Peninsula. The Manchesters have white facings. They were formed in 1881 as an amalgamation of the West

Suffolks with the old 96th. Their colour bears the sphinx and is noticeable for including in its honour-roll Guadeloupe, 1759, and Guadeloupe, 1810.

The Prince of Wales's (North Staffordshire Regiment) has also white facings, and its honours begin with the first Guadeloupe and include Surinam in 1804, and Reshire and Bushire of the Persian Gulf expedition of 1856, and Koosh-ab won by Outram in 1857, and Hafir on the Nile in 1896. The badges are the Prince of Wales's plume and the China dragon. The York and Lancaster Regiment has also a white colour, its badges being the tiger and the Tudor rose, as might be expected. The honour-roll begins with the first Guadeloupe and includes India, 1796-1819, and Arabia, for 1821. The Durham Light Infantry have a dark green colour, the green facings being those that were worn by the old 68th from 1758 to 1881. The second battalion began in 1826 as the East India Company's 2nd Bombay European Light Infantry, and to it are due the Reshire, Bushire and Koosh-ab on its honour-roll, which begins with Salamanca. The colour badge is the Tudor rose.

The Highland Light Infantry combine the old 71st with the old 74th and the result is one of our longest honour-rolls. It leads off with Carnatic for the war with Hyder Ali, Hindoostan, Sholinghur, Mysore and Seringapatam. The regimental facings are buff and the buff colour bears the Gibraltar insignia and the elephant with Assaye over it that is also borne by the Seaforth's and the 19th Hussars. When at Fermoy in 1818 the old 74th Highlanders, now the second battalion, solemnly burnt the colours they had carried in the Peninsula War, and the ashes are still kept in a gold snuff-box. For Assaye the East India Company gave it and the Seaforth's, and its own regiments engaged in that famous battle, a complimentary colour of white silk with the regiment's

number below and Assaye—and Seringapatam, to such regiments as were entitled to it—in gold letters above. The flags were borne by the two Highland regiments on parade until 1830, when although John Company's gift had been officially approved of by the home government, their use was discontinued. During the eighteenth century several regiments had been carrying three colours. The Northumberland Fusiliers continued to do so until 1833, when by an accident their colours were burnt, and when the question of granting new ones arose the right to carry the third was objected to and withdrawn; and that was the end of the three-colour system.

The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's) have buff facings with the cypher and coronet of Frederick, Duke of York—who was also Duke of Albany—in the corners, the Assaye elephant just mentioned, and the motto "Cuidichn Rìgh," that is "Help the King," which was given to the Mackenzie for having saved Alexander II of Scotland when attacked by a wounded stag, as is also commemorated in the stag's head appearing on the buttons and head-gear. They wear the Mackenzie tartan and are a combination of the old 72nd and 78th, the latter being the successors of Fraser's Highlanders who did so well under Wolfe. The 78th, raised in 1778 from that disbanded regiment, distinguished themselves greatly in the Mutiny and were called by Havelock "the saviours of India." The long battle-roll begins with Carnatic and Hindoostan, and includes Maida and Kabul.

The Gordon Highlanders have yellow facings of the same colour as their tartan stripe and bear the tiger and the sphinx. The honours begin with Mysore, Seringapatam and the Duke of York's Egmont-op-Zee, and include Mandora in Egypt in 1801. Among their badges is also a stag's head, but the antlers are erect

while those of the Seaforths are horizontal. The present regiment was formed in 1881 by combining the 75th Stirlingshire with the old Gordons, the Ninety-twa of the Peninsula War, to whom most of the honours are due.

The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders are a royal regiment, and on their blue colour have the crown and thistle and the sphinx. They were raised in 1793 as the 79th and retained the number till 1881. From 1793 to 1804 they were the Cameronian Volunteers which is not quite the same as the Cameron Highlanders. For some years after 1881 they were the only regiment of the line with only one battalion. Their honour-roll begins with Egmont-op-Zee and includes a large selection from the Peninsula array beginning with Corunna.

The Princess Victoria's (Royal Irish Fusiliers) are a royal regiment and their colour displays the Prince of Wales's plume and the sphinx with the coronet of the Princess Victoria—that is Queen Victoria before she ascended the throne—in the first and fourth corners, an eagle and laurel wreath in the second, and a harp and crown in the third. The motto is "Faugh-a-Ballagh" which means "clear the way." A close inspection will discover that the eagle in the corner has an 8 on it, the distinction belonging to the 87th, now the first battalion, for having captured at Barrosa in 1811 the eagle of the French 8th Light Infantry which was the first eagle taken in the Peninsula War. The badge of the harp and crown was used by the 87th from its raising as the Prince of Wales's Irish Regiment in 1793. The honour-roll begins with Monte Video.

The Connaught Rangers have green facings and combine the old 88th with the old 94th Scots Brigade. Their colour bears the elephant, the sphinx, and the harp and crown with its motto "Quis separabit?", the old badge of the 88th. The elephant is howdah-less, but not bare,



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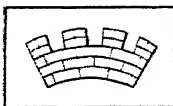
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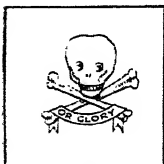
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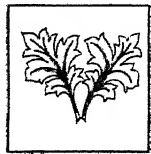
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PLATE XII.
BADGES OF REGIMENTAL COLOURS—2.

1. Britannia.
2. George and Dragon.
3. Prince of Wales's plume.
4. Lion on crown.
5. Garter star.
6. St. Patrick star.
7. St. Andrew.
8. Crown and thistle.
9. Harp and crown.
10. Mural crown.
11. Naval crown.
12. Grenade.
13. Death's head.
14. White rose in star.
15. Nassau arms.
16. Duke of Wellington's crest.
17. White Rousillon feather.
18. Maple leaf.

as that of the Seaforths ; he is described as caparisoned, meaning that he has a handsome cloth thrown over his back. The honour-roll begins with Seringapatam ; and no less than eight of the honours were borne by both battalions before the amalgamation.

The Princess Louise's (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders) have yellow facings and a most elaborate regimental colour. It displays a boar's head with the motto " Ne obliviscaris " within a wreath of myrtle for Campbell, and a cat with the motto " Sans peur " within a wreath of broom for Sutherland (anciently for the land of Cat, which was Caithness and Sutherland). Across these is the cadency label of Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, and this is surmounted by her coronet ; and her cypher and coronet are in each of the corners. The cause of all this is that the present regiment is a combination of the old 91st (Argyllshire) Highlanders with the old 93rd Sutherland Highlanders—" the thin red line." The battle-roll begins with the Cape of Good Hope and includes Balaklava, which no other regiment of infantry has on its colour. It is there because the old 93rd withstood in line across the valley the onslaught of the Russian cavalry, and this, with the charge of the heavy brigade—and not that of the light brigade—ensured the victory.

The Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians) has blue facings, and in each corner of the colour is a maple leaf, the Prince of Wales's feathers being in the centre. The honours begin with Niagara, against the Americans, in 1812. The first battalion was raised in Canada in 1858 to come to the aid of the Empire during the mutiny in India. This was the first Colonial contribution of the kind and the tribute of loyalty which formed the precedent for all the oversea help that our army has received. The second battalion is the old 109th Bombay Infantry. The Royal Munster Fusiliers

are the old 101st and 104th, both of which were Bengal Fusiliers. Their colour bears a shamrock and a tiger, and their honour-roll begins with a string of Indian victories ranging from Plassey to Burma in 1885-87. The Royal Dublin Fusiliers are an amalgamation of the 102nd (Madras Fusiliers) with the 103rd (Royal Bombay Fusiliers). Their colour has the tiger with Plassey and Buxar over it and "*Spectamur agendo*"—Clive's motto—below it, and also the elephant superscribed Carnatic and Mysore. Their honour-roll, like that of the Munsters, begins with a long array of famous Indian victories ranging from Arcot to Lucknow.

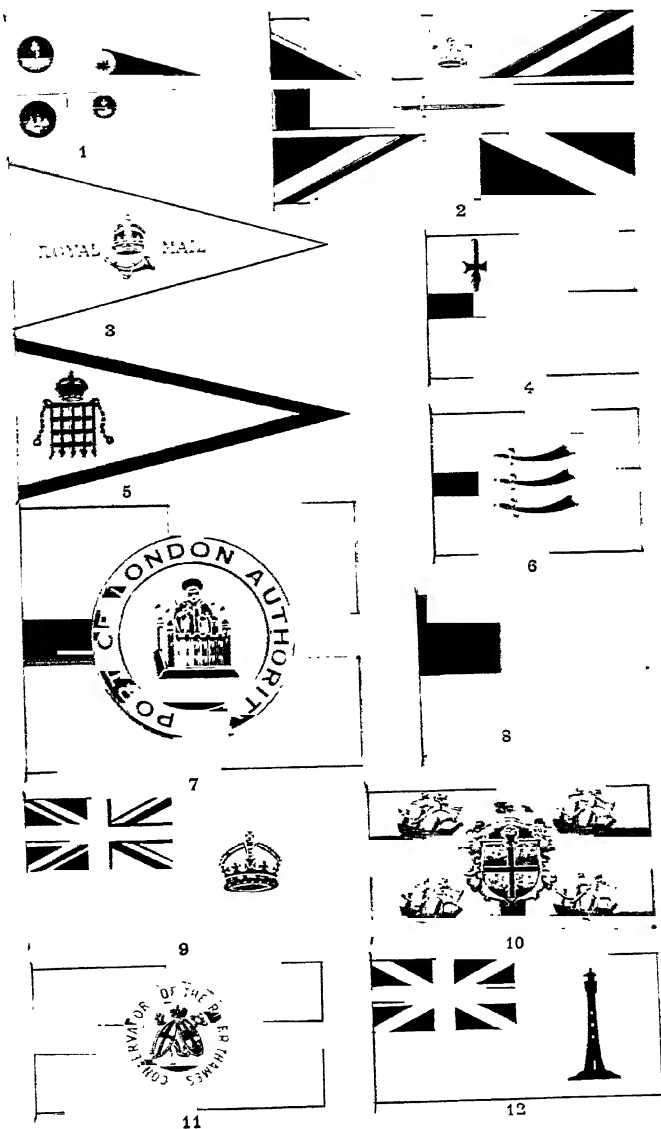
Colours may never be carried in fight again but they will always be cherished for the memories they recall. Their mute appeal is ever irresistible. When in November 1883 the old colours were borne from Edinburgh Castle to the cathedral "the multitude raised a shout and cheered, but the impulse was but momentary, for at sight of the array of tattered rags the noise of the tumult died away, and a half-suppressed sound was heard as through the hearts of the people there flashed a thrill of mingled pride and pain. Those who saw it will never forget the scene. In the centre the tattered silk of the colours, and on the fringe and in the background a wonder-stricken crowd, as past uncovered heads, past dimmed eyes and quivering lips, the old flags were carried." So it ever was ; and so it will be, even though the flags may not have passed through the storm of battle.

In this brief survey of the regimental flags of the British infantry, we have shown how they can be distinguished by their colouration, their badges and their honours which it may be as well to say are by no means the whole of the battles in which the regiment has been engaged but in many cases only those in which it has had an opportunity of distinction. Nothing has been said

PLATE XIII.

DEPARTMENTAL FLAGS.

1. Commissioners of Irish Lights.
2. Lords Lieutenant.
3. Royal Mail.
4. City of London.
5. Commissioners of Customs.
6. County of Middlesex.
7. Port of London.
8. North Sea Fishery Guard.
9. Customs Ensign.
10. Trinity House Master's Flag.
11. Thames Conservancy.
12. Commissioners of Northern Lights.



about the rifle regiments, because, as previously stated, they have no flags ; and the light cavalry have no flags but drum-cloths, or as they are otherwise called drum-banners, the word banner being used in a special sense, for they are not flown but draped on the kettledrums.

Military officers afloat, who are not general officers commanding, carry crossed swords in the fly of a blue ensign ; and county Lords Lieutenant, when on land, fly the union with a crown over a sword borne horizontally along the middle arm of the St. George's Cross. The War Office sports the blue ensign with the ordnance arms of the three cannons with the balls above, which, with a rope round it and an anchor beneath the Union, distinguishes the Naval Ordnance Department. The Transport service has a badge of a horizontal anchor on a blue ensign. The Board of Trade has a merchant ship in full sail, or rather, nowadays, under full steam. The Customs have a blue ensign with a crown in the fly, and the Commissioners have a white pennant bordered with red displaying a red portcullis with a red crown over it. The Post Office sports Father Time astonished at an impossible flash of lightning smashing his hour-glass.

The Port of London has a blue ensign with a yellow griffin flourishing a trident of the same proportions as a toasting-fork, and has also a red cross flag of which the centre is St. Paul appearing through the roof of the Tower of London. Lloyd's has a blue ensign with its badge, the arms of the city of London in the chief above a yellow foul anchor which is on the slope ; and for its boats flies a white burgee with a blue cross having a red stripe along its bars, the arms as on the ensign being in the upper canton.

The Cinque Ports of old flew the half-lion and ship-stern repeated three times, but the ships as shown in the arms of Sandwich and other towns were not of the form in the present arms which from their poops are obviously

of Tudor build. We hear of the banner of the confederation "the most curious frolic in all heraldry" as early as 1275. In these days the flag is blue in its first and fourth quarters, the fourth having Dover castle by itself, and the first, in the same triplicating manner, repeating the castle three times; the second quarter is red with a coronet over a horizontal anchor on yellow in the near half and the three dimidiated lions and ships in the fly; the third quarter being also divided in half having a red three-master on a yellow field near the mast, with the dimidiated old arms as in the second—in short a complicated combination far inferior in effect to the old flag.

Trinity House has a red ensign with four old ships, of the period of its foundation in 1514, as separate pictures in its fly, the old device with the badge repeated on an escutcheon being flown by itself by the master who is generally a prince of the blood with a standard of his own. The Board of Northern Lighthouses has a blue ensign with a white lighthouse in the fly, but the commissioners have a white ensign without the red cross, in the old Scottish fashion, with a blue lighthouse in the fly, and, as already noted, the old Union in the upper canton in virtue of the formation of the Board under the powers of the Act passed in 1786. The lighthouse is that of the Bell Rock, which, though long projected, was built on the Inchcape Rock of evil memory mainly owing to the wreck there of H.M.S. York in 1803 with a loss of nearly five hundred men, being all on board. It takes the place of the bell of the Abbot of Aberbrothock.

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CHAPTER IV

FLAGS OF GREATER BRITAIN

THE golden harp on an escutcheon in the centre of the Union has for years been the flag of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and—with the exception of the harp on the blue field which forms the standard, the ensigns of the few boards with badges, and the red cross of the Irish Lights—it is the only Irish flag, the green piece of bunting with the Union in the corner being no flag at all but merely a street decoration mistaken for such by people who do not know that the British Empire does not have ensigns of different colours for its different states but for its different services. This Lord Lieutenant's flag formed a precedent; and the Viceroy of India became similarly distinguishable by the Union with the central badge of the Star of India surmounted by a crown, and all High Commissioners, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Administrators, and Lieutenants of Colonies fly the Union with a badge in the same manner.

The Indian Marine flies the blue ensign with the Star of India in the fly just as if it were a government department at home, for it was the flags of these public departments that afforded the precedent in designing our colonial ensigns which similarly bear the local insignia in the fly. The authority is the King's Regulations, Article 128—"In accordance with the provisions of the

Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, all other Ships and Vessels belonging to His Majesty's subjects shall wear a Red Ensign free from any Badge or distinctive mark, with the union in the upper canton next the staff; except such Yachts or other Vessels as may have warrants from the Admiralty to display other Ensigns, Colours, or Pendants. Colonial Merchant Vessels shall wear the Red Ensign as above, except those of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, which may by Admiralty Warrant wear the Red Ensign with the badge of the Colony in the fly thereof. Any Colonial Merchant Vessel may, however, carry a distinguishing Flag with the Badge of the Colony thereon, in addition to the Red Ensign, provided that such flag does not infringe the provisions of section 73 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894."

These badges are of considerable interest, but to show them in their proper place on the flag would mean an array of about a hundred ensigns all alike except for a circle the size of a threepenny piece; and as many are full of detail it is advisable to give them separately on an enlarged scale. In dealing with them we may as well go round the world noticing them as we go, remembering that with warships and government vessels they are borne on the blue ensign, and with merchant vessels on the red.

Our oldest colony is Newfoundland. Its badge is Mercury introducing to Britannia a kneeling sailor who has just landed from a boat owing to its fore rigging having gone wrong. "These gifts I bring to you,"—"Haec tibi dona fero"—remarks either Mercury or the sailor who is holding out what seems to be a fishing net with a couple of cod in it. It is more of a tableau than a badge, but is rendered unmistakable by the Terra Nova on the top.

Quebec has a far better badge, the English lion on a

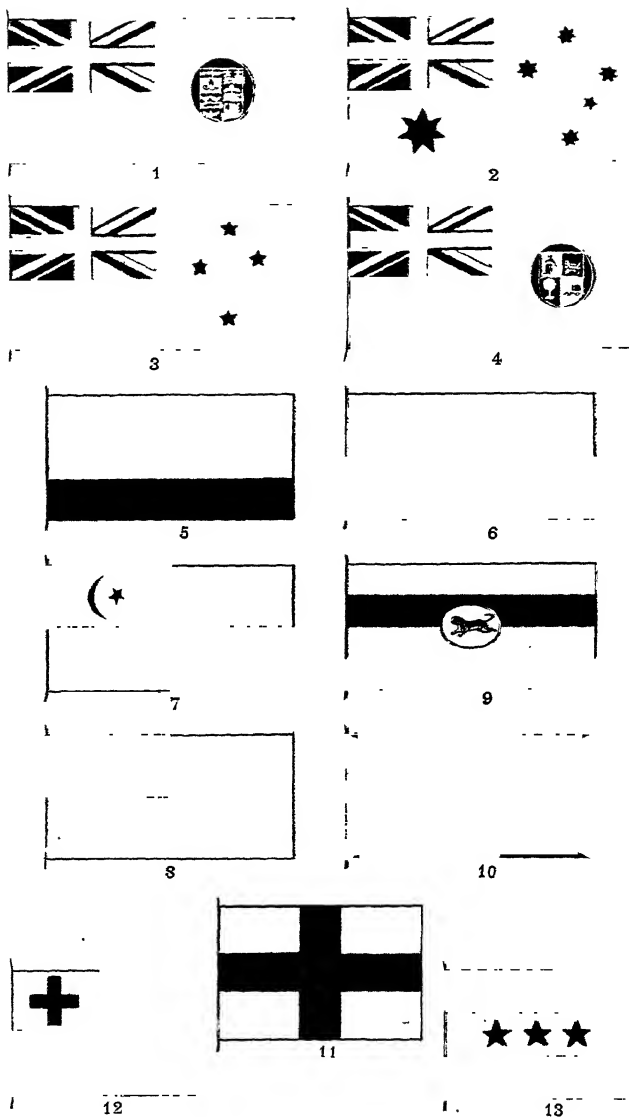


PLATE XIV.

GREATER BRITAIN AND PROTECTED STATES.

1. Dominion of Canada
2. Commonwealth of Australia.
3. Dominion of New Zealand.
4. Union of South Africa.
5. Perak.
6. Pahang.
7. Selangor.
8. Negri Sembilan.
9. Federated Malay States, Ensign.
10. Federated Malay States, Jack.
11. Sarawak.
12. Tonga.
13. Rarotonga.

fess gules with two lilies above in memory of the old French dominion, and the green maple spray below which is clearly Canadian. That of Ontario, too, with its Cross of St. George in the chief and the yellow maple spray on the green field is good in all ways, and so are the badges of Nova Scotia with its silver salmon on the blue fess wavy, with two thistles above and one below, and New Brunswick with the ancient lymphad or galley and the lion as of Quebec in the chief. These four quartered on one shield with Ontario in the first quarter, Quebec in the second, and New Brunswick in the fourth, form the arms of Canada as granted in the warrant of 1869. Three other provinces do not appear thereon, neither Prince Edward Island (which joined the Dominion in 1873) with the lion above and the two trees, the little one under the big one—"Parva sub ingenti"—nor Manitoba (which joined in 1870) with St. George's Cross above the bison, nor British Columbia (which joined in 1871) with its union and blue bars and the third of a sun at its base; but the shield is much too full as it is and more like that of a German duchy than a great dominion.

Bermuda started with a scene at an empty dock in the worst letter-heading manner, but of late years has found a better badge in the wreck of the Sea Venture under Sir George Somers in 1609—whence the name of Somers Islands—but instead of the sunken reef now known as Sea Venture Flat, the designer provided a cliff loftier than the ship's mast-head, and he placed the shield within the grip of a fearsome red lion. The Bahamas have a large ship and two small ones within a garter on which is a motto signifying that the pirates having been expelled business has been resumed—*commercia expulsiis piratis restituta*. Surely an opportunity has here been missed! One would have expected

something reminiscent of October 4th, 1492, when Columbus landed on San Salvador carrying in his hand the Spanish flag of red and gold, with his captains each bearing a banner charged with a green cross with F and Y for Ferdinando and Ysabil; or perhaps, a portrait, imaginary, of Roderigo de Triana who first sighted the land at two o'clock that morning and never got the reward but went to Africa and became a Mohammedan.

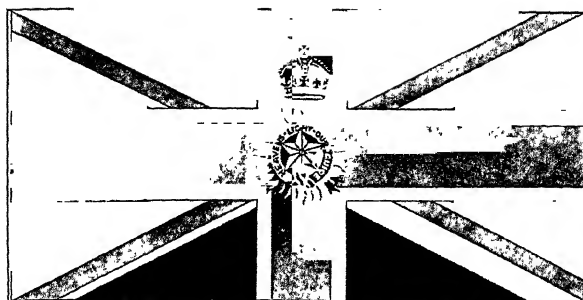
The Turks and Caicos Islands close to the Bahamas, and once united with them, also devote their attention to business and rejoice in a trade-mark, duly labelled with their name, in which a man is making salt in large quantities for shipment in a three-master off the shore. With Jamaica we get back to better form, the St. George's Cross with the five pineapples on it making a good shield and the lizard a good crest. British Honduras is the mahogany colony and it announces the fact in its badge, a third of which is occupied by the mahogany feller's tools including the cross-cut saw; while at the base is a barque with a red ensign and in the other third is the Union Jack which in the seal is replaced by the more appropriate mahogany tree.

The badge of the Leeward Islands was designed by the first governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, who hall-marked it for himself in a well-known example of the unfit. The royal arms with their supporters complete are adrift in the sky above a hilly country with a barque in full sail in the middle distance and a full-rigged ship, of larger tonnage but drawn half the size, closer in, and along the shore in the foreground is a pineapple bigger than either ship, for Sir Benjamin himself, with three smaller ones away to the right, for his family. In the seal of the colony, of later date, this has been revised into a passable design, for the foreground has gone, the pineapple much enlarged occupies all the middle of the

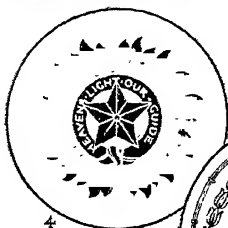
PLATE XV.

BADGES AND HOW THEY ARE BORNE.

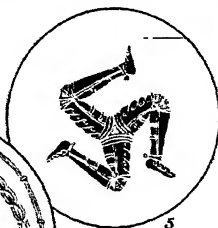
1. Viceroy of India.
2. Governor-General of Australia.
3. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.
4. Indian Marine.
5. Isle of Man.
6. Jersey.
7. Guernsey.



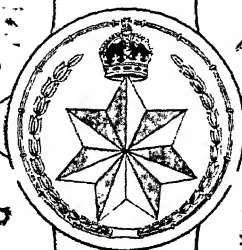
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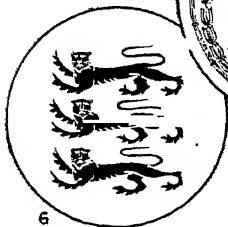
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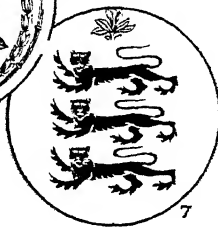
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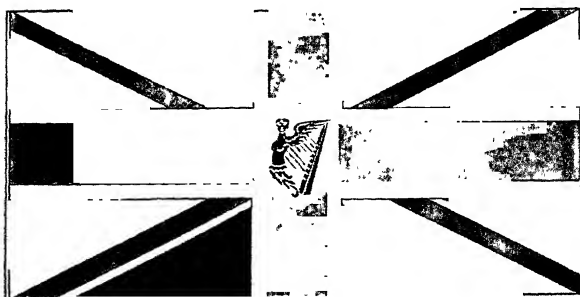
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shield, the three smaller ones are omitted, and the background is the sea with a steamer on one side and a sailing vessel on the other, both very small and clear of the distant land.

The Windward Islands have a shield within the garter, the shield having plain quarterings, red in the first, yellow in the second, green in the third, and purple in the fourth. St. Lucia, the chief coaling station for our fleet in the West Indies is distinguished by another landscape in which the two Pitons are prominent with that remarkable ever bubbling volcano, the Soufrière, in the distance. St. Vincent has another Soufrière, which erupted in 1902 and devastated a third of the island. Its badge is a classical group of a lady holding a branch as if she were about to whiff a fly off the head of another lady who is placing a wreath on an altar, the motto being *Pax et Justitia*, which the second lady is not.

Barbados for its badge has Britannia fully dressed in blue and red and ermine ruling the waves from the backs of two sea-horses, a chestnut and a grey. The idea is good and has been carried out excellently in the seal in which a kink in the only visible tail has improved matters immensely.

Grenada was discovered by Columbus in his third voyage, and it has apparently taken his ship, in full sail, as its badge, running before the wind straight for the island, the motto, "*Clarior e tenebris*"—brighter out of the darkness—referring doubtless to Grenada being out of the hurricane line. Trinidad offers quite an elaborate sea-piece with a prominent blue ensign on a jetty and a yellow mountain at the back, the principal figure being a frigate with a white ensign over the stern.

British Guiana is known to every schoolboy by its beautiful clipper in full sail; and off the other end of South America lie the Falkland Islands whose badge is

a white bull standing amid their characteristic tussac grass with a frigate in a river close by, the seal of the colony, which may become its badge, being a sea lion and a penguin.

West Africa is known by its elephant in front of a palm tree, the three colonies being distinguished by their initials in the foreground, G for Gambia, S L for Sierra Leone, and G C for the Gold Coast. Nigeria bears the royal arms with its name in a garter or the elephant with N in front. St. Helena, away out in the South Atlantic, has an Indiaman entering between two high cliffs with the red cross of old England on her ensign-staff in remembrance of its early days. Ascension has no badge; it is H.M.S. Ascension and under the white ensign.

The arms of the Union of South Africa are, quarterly, the figure of Hope for Cape Colony, two gnus for Natal, an orange tree for Orange River Colony, and a trek wagon for the Transvaal, the gnus and the tree being on gold, and the lady and the wagon on red and green respectively, and this badge without crest, supporters or motto is flown in the fly of the ensign by all the vessels of the Union. Before the Union, Orange River had a springbok and the Transvaal a couchant lion. Rhodesia has a British lion grasping an elephant's tusk with his right paw. East Africa has a red lion rampant, and Nyasaland a shrub on a yellow, white and black diagonal background; and Somaliland has the head and shoulders of a kudu.

The badge of the Seychelles is not the double coco-nut but a tall palm tree with another alongside and a turtle at the foot. Mauritius, the star and key of the Indian Sea—as its motto says—is known by the red and white dodo with its embattled border, the similarly embattled antelope and the sugar-cane in front of each; the



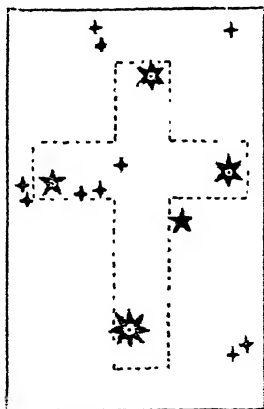
PLATE XVI.

BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—I.

1. Manitoba.
2. Nova Scotia.
3. Ontario.
4. Quebec.
5. New Brunswick.
6. Newfoundland.
7. Bermuda.
8. British Honduras.
9. Jamaica.
10. Bahamas.
11. Turks Islands.
12. British Columbia.
13. Prince Edward Island.

shield with its galley and palm trees and key and star being of the best heraldry but overpowered by the supporters.

The Australian ensign has a large seven-pointed star beneath the union and the Southern Cross of four smaller seven-pointed stars and a still smaller five-pointed star in the fly. This constellation which is a very small one has a curious attractiveness for people south of the equator, and is rather embarrassing in its popularity from a flag point of view. Even Humboldt felt its influence. "We saw distinctly," says he, "for the first time, the Cross of the South on the night of the fourth and fifth of July, in the sixteenth degree of latitude; it was strongly inclined and appeared from time to time between the clouds, the centre of which, furrowed by uncondensed lightnings, reflected a silver light. The pleasure felt on discovering the Southern Cross was warmly shared by such of the crew as had lived in the colonies. In the solitude of the seas we hail a star as a friend, from whom we have been long separated. Among the Portuguese and the Spaniards, peculiar motives seem to increase this feeling; a religious sentiment attaches them to a constellation, the form of which recalls the sign of the faith planted by their ancestors in the deserts of the new world." Five thousand years ago the constellation was visible from the Baltic, and it is now on its return journey from



THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

the south to appear again above the European horizon. The upper and lower stars are of similar right ascension,

and on the meridian at about the same time, so that they serve to indicate the position of the south pole as Dubhe and Merak in the Great Bear do that of the north pole; and just as the Great Bear never sets in London so does the Southern Cross never set in Australia. Here-with we have a diagram showing the stars in their true position, and from it will be seen how freely they have to be treated to get them into the shape of a cross as they appear on the Australian flag.

The badge on the union which distinguishes the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia is a seven-pointed star, with a crown above, set within a laurel wreath. The badges of the different states are the black swan for Western Australia; the white-backed piping crow (*Gymnorhina leuconota*) displayed for South Australia; and for Tasmania a red lion cheerfully passant with his tongue out of his mouth and a crook in his tail. Victoria has a crown and the Southern Cross again, this time with a seven-pointed star on the top, a smaller seven-pointed star on the left, an eight-pointed star at the base, a six-pointed star to the right and between it and the base a five-pointed one; New South Wales has the St. George's Cross charged with the lion of England and four eight-pointed yellow stars; and Queensland has a distinctive blue Maltese Cross with a crown in the centre.

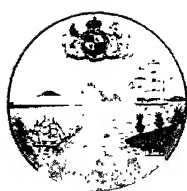
The Governor of New Zealand's badge on the union is a wreath of fern leaves enclosing four five-pointed red stars with N Z in the middle; and the ensign of the dominion is the Southern Cross once more, this time of four five-pointed stars all the same size arranged in the fly as the cross ought to be and not as it is, the stars on the blue ensign being red; and those on the red ensign being white.

Fiji has abandoned its simple letter badge with the

PLATE XVII.

BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—2.

1. Leeward Islands.
2. Windward Islands.
3. St. Lucia.
4. St. Vincent.
5. Barbados.
6. Grenada
7. Trinidad.
8. British Guiana.
9. Falkland Islands
10. West Africa.
11. St. Helena.
12. Cape Colony.
13. Natal.



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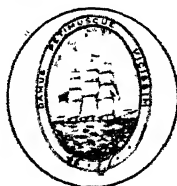
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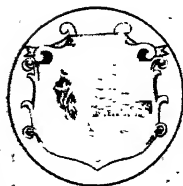
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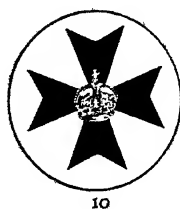
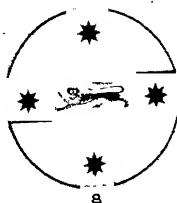


PLATE XVIII.

BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—3.

1. Orange River Colony.
2. Rhodesia.
3. Transvaal.
4. British East Africa.
5. Somaliland.
6. Nyasaland.
7. Seychelles.
8. New South Wales.
9. Victoria.
10. Queensland.
11. South Australia.
12. Western Australia.
13. Tasmania.

crown for an elaborate coat of arms with a lion in the chief, and a St. George's Cross with the white filled in with botanical specimens in three spaces and a bird in the other; this is supported by two dignified Polynesians standing on a motto in their own language, and completing the design is the crest of a catamaran which would have done excellently by itself as the badge. New Guinea has a crown with Papua below it. The smaller Pacific Islands come under the Western Pacific High Commissioner whose badge is the crown with W P H C below; or else, as in the case of the Gilbert and Ellice group, under a British Resident who has the crown above the B R.

Weihaiwei is known by the mandarin ducks on the bank of a stream, and Hong Kong by the harbour scene in which are the junk and the tea clipper with the six yards across on the mainmast. British North Borneo sports a leaping red lion with his head over his left shoulder. The Straits Settlements have as good a badge as any, the red diamond with three crowns on a three-armed field of white. Labuan, the smallest British colony, being about the size of the Isle of Wight, has a brigantine sailing past what might be mistaken for the rock of Gibraltar. Sarawak has a flag of its own, being a state under British protection with an area of some 50,000 square miles on the north-west coast of Borneo under an hereditary sovereign, the raja being a member of the family of Sir James Brooke who obtained its cession from the Sultan of Borneo in 1842. The flag is yellow with a cross black on one side and red on the other, the vertical bar being dimidiated—half red, half black.

The Federated Malay States, bordering on Province Wellesley, are under British protection and have all good flags. Perak has its horizontal white, yellow and black, which would have been better and avoided the

metal on metal difficulty if the black had been in the middle. Pahang has its white over black; Negri Sembilan has its yellow and the black and red diagonal in the canton; and Selangor has its red and yellow quarterly with the crescent and star in the first quarter. They are all unmistakable at a distance on land or sea; and the colours combined into the ensign of the federation, white, red, yellow, black, horizontally, with the leaping tiger in the central oval, or into the jack diagonally, with the red in the hoist, the black in the fly and the yellow below, are most effective.

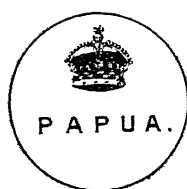
Our old acquaintances, the Friendly Islands, far out in the South Pacific, now constituting the protectorate of Tonga, are well distinguished by the red ensign with the dumpy St. George's Cross in the upper canton; and the Cook Islands under the protection of New Zealand with the headquarters at Rarotonga have a better flag in the red, white, red horizontal with three five-pointed blue stars in the middle stripe. Another protectorate, that of Witu on the east coast of Africa at the mouth of the Tana and administered from Tanaland has a flag reminiscent of the past, it being the old jack of the privateers, the union with a red border, just as the union with a blue border is the jack of the Indian Marine. Ceylon has a pagoda with an elephant in front, the background being blue and the foreground green, surrounded by a native border in red and gold; and the Andamans and other local maritime governments under Indian administration have a yellow rampant lion holding a crown.

Returning through the Suez canal we find Cyprus with two red lions adapted from the antique, of which the upper one has parted company with his right hind leg. The flag of Malta is now plain white and red vertical and not the silver cross of eight points of the Hospitallers, the eight points being the signs of the eight beatitudes

PLATE XIX.

BADGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES—4

1. Papua.
2. Weihaiwei.
3. Western Pacific.
4. Hong Kong.
5. North Borneo.
6. Straits Settlements.
7. Labuan.
8. Fiji.
9. Ceylon.
10. Mauritius.
11. Malta.
12. Cyprus.
13. Gibraltar.



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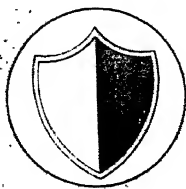
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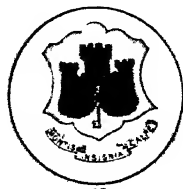
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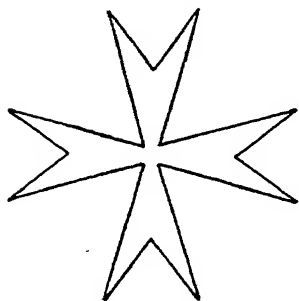


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13

of the order—1, Spiritual joy ; 2, To live without malice ; 3, To weep over thy sins ; 4, To humble thyself to



THE MALTESE CROSS.

those who injure thee ; 5, To love justice ; 6, To be merciful ; 7, To be sincere and pure of heart ; 8, To suffer persecution. This be it understood is the real Maltese Cross of the Knights of St. John with the deep indentations giving two sharp points to each limb and not the modern pattern known under the name, as

in the Victoria Cross, in which the extremities of each limb are joined by a straight line. With Gibraltar we leave the Mediterranean. It has the familiar castle and key and "Montis insignia Calpe"—Calpe being the ancient name of the rock, the European pillar of Hercules, Abyla, now Apes' Hill above Ceuta, being the African pillar ; the legend being that they were once one mountain which was torn in two by the Greek hero.

Jersey, on our way home, has the three lions of England and so has Guernsey with the addition of a sprig at the top ; and Alderney has a green medallion with a golden rampant lion displaying a red tongue and balancing a crown on his head. Finally we may as well go on to Liverpool whence we started and call at the Isle of Man. "The arms of Man are legs," says Planché ; heraldically they are—"gules, three human legs in armour proper, conjoined in the fess point at the upper part of the thighs and flexed in triangle." The three legs thus fitted together were the arms of Sicily, but the legs were bare ; when appropriated by the Manxmen they were supplied with hose, later on they were put into armour, and in the last stage they were equipped with spurs.

CHAPTER V

MUNICIPAL FLAGS

THE flag that flies on the Mansion House is the best-known example of another series of flags, that of the local authorities, which are met with all over the country and are really banners in the true heraldic sense, although so many are unauthorised and only allowed on the ground of ancient use. The city of London, for instance, can show no warrant for its arms but urges that they were acknowledged by the Heralds' College in 1623 in the grant made to Londonderry where they appear in the chief with a skeleton sitting on some stones in memory of the destruction of Derry by Sir Charles Dogherty in 1608, the new town being built on the ruins of the old by the financial help of the city of London in commemoration of which it bears the name of Londonderry. The arms are, of course, the cross of St. George with the sword of St. Paul, and not the dagger of Sir William Walworth as occasionally stated. Those of Westminster, the other city of the capital, may as well be mentioned here. They are in their present form of modern origin and consist of the old portcullis, the chief bearing the arms of Edward the Confessor between two Tudor roses on yellow.

Another well-known flag is that of the city of Glasgow whose arms had been used for centuries before they were granted by Lord Lyon King of Arms in 1866. As de-

clared in the patent they are—"Argent, on a mount in base vert an oak tree proper, the stem at the base thereof surmounted by a salmon on its back also proper, with a signet ring in its mouth, or ; on the top of the tree a red-breast, and in the sinister fess point an ancient handbell, both also proper. Above the shield is placed a suitable helmet, with a mantling gules doubled argent, and, issuing out of a wreath of the proper liveries, is set for crest the half-length figure of S. Kentigern affronté, vested and mitred, his right hand raised in the act of benediction, and having in his left hand a crozier, all proper ; in a compartment below the shield are placed for supporters two salmon, proper, each holding in its mouth a signet ring, or ; and in an escrol entwined with the compartment this motto—"Let Glasgow Flourish." "

The only important change in the old arms was the curtailment of the motto which used to be "Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of the Word." In other respects the old rhyme is still applicable :—

" Here's the bird that never flew,
Here's the tree that never grew,
Here's the bell that never rang,
Here's the fish that never swam,
That's jist the dru'ken salmon."

The bird is St. Serf's robin restored to life by Kentigern, better known as St. Mungo, in his youth ; the tree is the bough with which the monastery lamps were relighted when he made it burst into flame ; the fish and the ring—which is the one Rhydderch found on the knight's finger—are emblems drawn from the imprudence of Queen Langueth, and her remarkable deliverance by the saint who sent the monk to catch the fish that swallowed the ring ; and the bell is the consecrated one brought by him from Rome on the occasion of his

last visit. As an example of what may be read into a coat of arms we cannot do better than take the following from James Cleland's *Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow*, published in 1820. "The tree is emblematical of the spreading of the Gospel: its leaves being represented as for the healing of the nations. The bird is also typical of that glorious event, so beautifully described under the similitude of the winter being passed, and the rain over and gone, the time of the singing of the birds being come, and the voice of the turtle heard in our land. Bells for calling the faithful to prayers, and other holy ordinances of the Church, have been considered so important in Roman Catholic countries, that for several centuries past the right of consecration has been conferred on them by the dignitaries of the Church. That religion might not absorb the whole insignia of the town, the trade, which at that time was confined to fishing and curing salmon, came in for its share, and this circumstance gave rise to the idea of giving the salmon a place in the arms of the city." Concerning all which MacGregor in his history, most courteously remarks—"It is perhaps allowable to say, that such a meaning must be, from its nature, almost entirely imaginary, the only part having any appearance of probability being that regarding the salmon."

The arms of Aberdeen have a story of quite a different kind to tell. It was there that Robert Bruce took refuge after his defeat at Methven in 1306, and the citizens rising suddenly by night in a well-planned insurrection captured the castle, razed it to the ground and put its English garrison to the sword, whereupon "in honour of that resolute act," says Bailie Skene, "they got their Ensignes-Armorial, which to this day they bear—gules, three towers triple, towered on a double tressure counterflowered argent, supported by two leopards proper;

the motto in an escroll above, their watchword *Bon Accord.*" Edinburgh has its castle, with the steps, in no way resembling the present castle alongside which is the venerable chapel, the oldest bit of architecture the city can boast, that of St. Margaret, who appears in the arms of Leith, its port, seated all alone in a ship the yards of which indicate a condition of distress—a vigorous old characteristic device comparing favourably with the vase of lilies that has distinguished Dundee from before 1637.

Newcastle has three castles on a red field like Aberdeen, but the castles are of different build and without a tressure. Gateshead has also its castle but it is on a green mount, and South Shields has the distinctive tableau of its motto—"always ready"—in the sky, and four men in a boat rowing all on one side to the surprise of the passenger and disgust of the coxswain. Nothing could be more distinctive than Sunderland's primitive sextant; and Middlesbrough's three barques, all of a row, with the blue lion under, though of course much more modern, are also unmistakable. Hull has borne the three coronets one over the other on their blue field for centuries, and Grimsby's white and black, the three boar heads and chevron, are as clear. Yarmouth combines by dimidiation its three herrings with the lions of England, recalling its ancient rivalry with the Cinque Ports especially as regards the chequered fortunes of Yarmouth Fair which claims a continuous history of over 1200 years. Ipswich in accordance with its grant of 1561 adds another note of these old times in its half-hulks and rampant lion. Hastings again shows its old Cinque Port origin in its two dimidiations of lions and ships and the middle lion complete stretching across both the red and blue halves of the shield.

Brighton's two green dolphins are well known, as are

Southampton's three roses, the white ones on red, the red one on white. Weymouth has the old ship : Dartmouth has the King in a ship with a lion on each side and the moon and sun above. Plymouth's old arms are also familiar, with their green diagonal cross and four black castles. Cardiff has its sergeant's stripes, the three red chevrons on yellow ; and Newport has the reversed yellow chevron on red that was borne by the Lord of Newport, better known as the Duke of Buckingham, beheaded by Richard III—

“The first was I that help'd thee to the crown !
The last was I that felt thy tyranny.”

Bristol's arms of the ship emerging from the castle are as old as the ship and castle depicted ; but Liverpool's date only from 1797 when the heralds, having never heard of Litherland close by, were left to choose between the pool of laver—that is the seaweed *Porphyra*—and the pool of the liver, a bird unknown to naturalists ; and, failing to find a figure of the imaginary bird, they invented a sort of short-necked cormorant, into whose beak they put a couple of fronds of *Porphyra* in case it was Laverpool after all. This very neat instance of heraldic hedging did not, however, meet with the success it deserved, for the old name was discovered to be Litherpool, that is the sluggish pool—yet the cormorant and the seaweed remain, for they are in the grant. No such mistake was made in the case of Barrow-in-Furness in much later days. Whatever the heralds might provide the council took care there should be no misunderstanding, and so on the yellow bend that crosses the red field diagonally there appears the simple rebus of an arrow following a bee.

Inland, a few of the noticeable ones are Lincoln with the St. George's Cross with a fleur-de-lis in the centre,

and York with a similar cross on which are five lions. Leeds has the sheep and stars; Halifax has its Haliz and Fax, or holy face, the face being that of John the Baptist whose head, it is not generally known, eventually rested at Halifax in the church dedicated to that saint. Huddersfield has three black rams with three white castles on a black chevron. Bradford has three hunting horns and a well. Rochdale has a red woolpack between two cotton sprigs. Manchester has three yellow bends on a red field with a ship in the chief which could not possibly get up the Irwell, and the grant, of date 1842, may be considered as forecasting a future port. Dudley, which has a canal port of another sort, displays a salamander amid flames and a couple of anchors between a basket of coals with a castle in the chief. Shrewsbury has three lions' heads; Bury St. Edmunds three crowns with the two crossed arrows in each; Winchester has five castles and two lions; Taunton has a cherub and a crown; and Penzance—"the holy head"—has St. John's head on the charger, his head having also reached Penzance as it did Trimmingham and Amiens.

Oxford has a red ox on a rippling river which are the arms of the county; and in many other cases the arms assumed by the county are those of the county town. The heralds used to say that a county is neither a country, nor a corporation, nor a person, and consequently cannot bear arms, but the counties did so all the same, for they could not do without seals, and hence arms, and hence a flag such as can be seen flying from the Middlesex county hall at Westminster.

The counties which were ancient kingdoms have had insignia for centuries, and the later shires took arms which were mostly from the towns from which they took their names. Many of these arms make handsome flags

Berkshire flies the five heads of Reading; Buckinghamshire the swan of the Bohuns, after the earl; Cambridge-shire has the three boats under a bridge; Cheshire the three lions and wheatsheaves which were the arms of Earl Randle. Derbyshire has the stag in a ring fence of Derby; Devonshire the castle of Exeter; Dorsetshire the castle with the Tudor arms of Dorchester; Essex the ship and three daggers which represent the old seaxes of the Saxons that are shown in truer form in the arms of Middlesex that make so bold a display as an escutcheon on the Cross of St. George.

Hampshire has the three roses of Southampton, it being really Southamptonshire, corresponding with Northamptonshire which similarly flies the castle and lions of Northampton. Hertfordshire has a stag in a park; Huntingdonshire has the stag being shot at under a tree by Robin Hood, whom some say was its earl, though Robin is often given a red coat instead of one of Lincoln green. Kent is known by its white horse of the Jutes which it now combines with the arms of Canterbury; Sussex flies the arms of Chichester; Surrey those of Guildford; Cornwall flies the fifteen balls, or bezants if you please; Rutland flies the horseshoe; Somerset the sword and wall; and Wiltshire the sword and key.

CHAPTER VI

CLUB FLAGS AND HOUSE FLAGS

IN the early years of the nineteenth century there were four British ensigns afloat and not three, the fourth being a white one without a red cross; and even so late as the 19th of February, 1835, an Admiralty warrant was granted to the Royal Thames Yacht Club authorizing their vessels to carry a white ensign without a red cross with the Union in the upper canton and bearing in the fly a crown over the letters R T Y C in red. This ensign, without any lettering, was flown by The Yacht Club—now the Royal Yacht Squadron—in 1815, the club having been founded three years before but it was replaced in 1821—the year after we hear of The Royal Yacht Club—by the red ensign, which in its turn was replaced by the present white ensign—known to many as the St. George's ensign—granted by the Admiralty warrant of 1829.

The Royal Yacht Club, which by King William's wish in 1833 became the Royal Yacht Squadron, is the only yacht club now flying the navy ensign, but the 1829 warrant did not grant an exclusive use, for in 1832 a similar warrant was issued to the Royal Western of Ireland. In 1842, at the request of Lord Yarborough, the Admiralty decided that the privilege should be restricted to the Squadron—of which he was then the commodore—and sent out copies of a minute to that

effect to the Royal Thames, the Royal Southern, the Royal Western of England, the Royal Eastern, the Holyhead, the Wharncliffe and the Gibraltar clubs, which were all under the white ensign, with or without the cross ; but owing to there being two Royal Westerns, one of England and one of Ireland, the minute by mistake was sent to one and not to both, so that the Irish club went on with the white flag, and in 1853, to save an excuse for another Irish grievance, actually obtained permission to continue with it. In 1858, however, the Royal St. George, of Kingstown, and the Holyhead, which had had to haul down its white ensign in 1842, applied for authority to enjoy the same privilege, thus bringing the matter officially before the Board, who promptly refused both applications and at the same time ordered the Irish Royal Western to strike its white colours so that for the future they should be distinctive of the Squadron which has always been under the special patronage of the royal family.

When yacht clubs first obtained official recognition is not known, but there was certainly some form of Admiralty warrant in existence in 1788, for in the Public Advertiser of the 7th of June of that year there is an advertisement announcing a meeting of the members of the Cumberland Fleet—that is the Royal Thames in its early stage—at which “the gentlemen who enter their boats are to attend at the same time to draw lots for situation at starting, and are hereby informed that they are expected either to produce their licence from the Admiralty or other proofs of being owners of the vessels they intend to sail.” Nowadays the warrant is granted to clubs and their members giving them permission to fly the blue ensign, with or without device, and the red ensign with device, for without device it has to be flown by all British vessels large or small not exempted by

virtue of one of these warrants, which we may as well give in full as follows :

“ Whereas we deem it expedient that the members of the Royal Incog Yacht Club, being natural born or naturalized British subjects, should be permitted to wear on board their respective vessels the blue ensign of His Majesty’s fleet, with the distinctive marks of the club, viz. a half-crown in the fly, on the following conditions : We do therefore, by virtue of the power and authority vested in us, under the provisions of the 105th Section of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, hereby warrant and authorize the blue ensign of His Majesty’s fleet, with the distinctive marks of the Royal Incog Yacht Club thereon, as aforesaid, to be worn on board the respective vessels belonging to the Royal Incog Yacht Club, and to members of such yacht club, being natural born or naturalized British subjects accordingly, subject to the following conditions : (1) Every vessel belonging to the Royal Incog Yacht Club, in order to be eligible to wear the ensign authorized by this warrant, shall have been registered as a British vessel in accordance with the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854. (2) The ensign shall not, without our authority in writing, be worn on board any vessel belonging to the Royal Incog Yacht Club while such vessel is lent, on hire or otherwise, to any person not being a member of the club, or who, being a member of the club, is not a natural born or naturalized British subject.”

Besides the wearing of the ensign the warrant carries with it a few privileges allowed as a matter of courtesy and not of right. Members of the club, for instance, may remove their own furniture or property from place to place in the kingdom in their own yachts without taking out a coasting licence ; they may deposit wines or spirits as sea stock in the Customs warehouses on

arrival from foreign ports free of duty (but not of warehousing dues) and reship them for another voyage; and they may enter Government harbours without paying dues, and use any Government mooring buoys when they are not required by His Majesty's ships.

A club having an Admiralty warrant takes precedence of a club which has only a Royal warrant, permission to use the prefix Royal being granted from the Home Office and not from the Admiralty; and it is because they have not got an Admiralty warrant that some of the Royal clubs fly the plain red ensign. At the same time it is worth remembering that a yacht can fly the blue ensign without belonging to a club which holds a warrant, or belonging to any club at all, for yachts are not warships, and any other vessel can fly the blue ensign if she complies with the necessary conditions and holds the Royal Naval Reserve warrant as mentioned in an earlier chapter.

In saluting amongst yachtsmen the blue ensign dips to the white, and the red to both the blue and the white, and amongst members of the same club the junior dips first. Most yacht clubs wear the device in the fly of the ensign; a few, such as the Royal Southampton and the Royal Cork, wear it in the centre of the union. In all cases the device on the ensign is the same as that on the burgee, and after all it is the burgee and not the ensign by which the clubs are generally known.

There are two burgees. The club burgee is a single-pointed pennant hoisted at the mast-head—at the main-mast-head in schooners—during the daytime when the yacht is not actually racing; the burgee hoisted by the flag-officers of the club is a swallow-tailed pennant bearing the same device. The burgee of the Royal Yacht Squadron is a St. George's Cross with the crown in the centre, the crown distinguishing all the royal

clubs. This famous club, whose headquarters are at Cowes, is generally known, from its colours, as the White Squadron, while the Royal Victoria Yacht Club, whose headquarters are at Ryde, is known, also from its colours, as the Red Squadron, its burgee being red, like its ensign, and bearing a yellow anchor between V and R with the crown above.

The Royal Albert, of Southsea, has a blue burgee bearing a red St. George's Cross edged with white and having the crown in the centre, and its blue ensign is plain. The Royal Alfred, of Kingstown, which began in 1857 as the Irish Model Yacht Club, has a red ensign, and a red burgee with a crown above a sloping anchor; its first burgee was blue with a red anchor on it, the anchor being soon changed for an Irish crown; but in 1859 this gave place to a white flag with a blue cross, another change being made in 1861, when the burgee became red with an ordinary foul anchor for which the present foul Trotman anchor was afterwards substituted. The Royal Channel Islands, which started in 1855 as the Jersey Yacht and Rowing Club, has a blue burgee with the arms of Jersey surmounted by a crown, the same device being borne on the blue ensign.

The Royal Cinque Ports bears the old arms of the confederation, the half-ships and half-lions, on a blue field and its ensign is plain blue, as is also that of the Royal Clyde, which flies the arms of Scotland on a blue field as its burgee. The Royal Corinthian, of Port Victoria and Burnham, the premier amateur club, flies a yellow laurel wreath on ensign and burgee, both of which are blue, and the crown is worn in the middle of the wreath.

The Royal Cork bears the harp and crown on its red burgee and the same badge on a green field in the centre of the Union of its red ensign, the Admiralty warrant

for this noteworthy exception having been granted to William, Earl of Inchiquin, for the Cork Harbour Yacht Club, in 1759. This claims to be the oldest of the clubs—though it remained dormant from 1765 to 1806—by virtue of its derivation from the Water Club of the Harbour of Cork founded in 1720, and among the original rules of that club the fifth reads: “Ordered that the Secretary do prepare an Union flag with the Royal Irish harp and crown on a green field in the centre,” so that the device on the Union is considerably older than the warrant would indicate, though a drawing of the club admiral’s flag of 1720 shows the harp to be white and of a shape of its own on which no one could play. This admiral, by the way, must have had quite a glorious time when afloat, to judge by the sailing orders of 1720:

“Observe that if the Admiral wants to speak with any of the fleet he will make the following signals. If with the Vice-Admiral he will hoist a white flag at the end of the gaff or derrick, and fire two guns. If with any private Captain he will hoist a pendant at his derrick and fire as many guns as the Captain is distanced from him and from the same side. When he would have the fleet come to an anchor, he will show double Dutch colours at the end of his gaff and fire a gun. When the Admiral will have the whole fleet to chase, he will hoist Dutch colours under his flag and fire a gun from each quarter; if a single boat, he will hoist a pendant and fire as many guns from the side as a boat is distanced from him. When he would have the chase given over, he will haul his flag and fire a gun.” All this gun business has long been done away with, there having been so many accidents with the small saluting pieces that yachtsmen found it safer to leave them ashore, where they are generally met with as curiosities in country houses.

The Royal Irish, established in 1831, started with a

white ensign bearing the harp and crown, but now has a blue burgee with, the harp and crown and the same badge in the fly of its blue ensign; and the Royal Ulster has the red hand on a white shield as its badge, the field being blue. The Royal Welsh has the Prince of Wales's plume on burgee and ensign, both being blue, and the Royal Anglesey, originally the Beaumaris, has a fearsome red dragon on its blue burgee and a crown in the centre of the Union of its blue ensign.

The Royal Dart is known by the dart and crown on its red ensign and red burgee, and the Royal Dorset by its white burgee with the cross of blue edged with red bearing the central crown, the ensign being plain blue. The Royal Eastern, of the Forth, has a plain blue ensign and a blue burgee with a crown over a white diagonal cross on a red field in its upper canton—canton meaning, of course, angle or corner—and the Royal Forth, once the Granton, has blue colours with a maltese cross that used to be red and is now yellow with the crown above. The Royal Harwich has the yellow rampant lion on its blue ensign and burgee, and the Royal Highland has a blue burgee with the crown in the centre of St. Andrew's Cross, the ensign being without device.

The Royal Northern's ensign is plain blue, and its burgee is blue with a crown and anchor. When founded in 1824, its members hailed from the west of Scotland and the north of Ireland, and in its third year it separated into an Irish branch and a Scottish branch which wore different flags, though all were red, the Irish wearing a wreath of shamrocks round a harp, and the Scottish a wreath of thistles round a white lion. The Irish division wound up its affairs in 1838, and in time the white lion was replaced by an anchor and the thistles by oak leaves; then the wreath disappeared; then the NYC which had been above the wreaths took up its position beneath

the anchor ; and then the Admiralty warrant was obtained, and the ensign became blue and the burgee blue, and the lettering dropped out.

The Royal St. George, of Kingstown, wears a crown in the fly of its red ensign and a crown in the centre of the white cross on its red burgee ; it is an old club, having been founded in 1838, and obtaining its warrant seven years after. The Royal Mersey dates from 1844, but moved from Liverpool to Birkenhead in 1878 ; hence it still sports the liver on its blue colours, though it has made a better bird of it than did the heralds in the Liverpool arms. Similarly the Royal Barrow sports the municipal bee ; the Royal Portsmouth Corinthian has the municipal moon and star on the blue shield in the middle stripe of its red, white and red burgee ; the Royal Southampton has the town arms on its blue burgee with a crown on the Union of its blue ensign ; the Royal Western, which began in 1827 as the Royal Clarence Regatta Club, has the crown only on its blue burgee ; and the Royal Yorkshire has the crown and white rose on both its flags.

The Royal London began as the Arundel Yacht Club in 1838 and kept its boats on the Thames at the foot of Arundel Street where the Temple Station now stands. In those days the burgee was red with a white border and white lettering ; seven years afterwards the Arundel became the London under a new flag, a white one with a blue cross and a yellow star. Next year, 1846, the Corporation of the City of London granted the club the privilege of using as its badge the city arms ; and in 1849 it obtained the Admiralty warrant and the blue field on which to wear them. The club continued to thrive, and in 1882 opened a branch club-house at Cowes, and finally yachting having more or less departed from the London river, the London Yacht Club departed from

London, and Cowes became its home, where its house is alongside that of the Squadron, from which it is sometimes distinguished as the Blue Squadron, the Victoria, as already mentioned, being the Red.

The Royal Thames is also descended from a river club, the Cumberland Fleet, which was founded at Battersea and first came into notice in 1775, when it flew the white ensign without a cross and a red-cross burgee in which the right arm of the cross was equal to the left one, being stopped short in the middle of the flag. The flag and the club lasted until 1823, when owing to a dispute over a prize the majority of the members withdrew and formed the Thames Yacht Club, which hoisted a red burgee with initials, and above these a crown was put in 1831. Three years afterwards the burgee became white, with the crown and letters in red ; and the next year, 1835, the club obtained its warrant for its crossless white ensign as already mentioned, which in due time was replaced under the warrant of 1848 by the plain blue ensign now flown. The Royal Thames burgee is clear to see and easy to remember, being blue with a white cross and a crown in the centre. But we seem to have had enough about burgees, and, though there are many more, we will assume that those mentioned are sufficient as examples.

The burgee of the flag officers ends as already noted in two points instead of one, the system of rank-marking being the same as in the navy, one ball in the upper canton distinguishing the vice-commodore and one in each of the cantons distinguishing the rear-commodore. When yachts are in commission they fly the burgee from their mastheads while at anchor, and when they win a club prize the owner's racing flag, then become a winning flag, is run up under the burgee on the same halliards should the owner be a member of the club giving the prize.

After a regatta the yacht hoists as many of her racing flags as she has won prizes, and when she comes into her own port she hoists as many flags as prizes she has won to date; and should she have won more prizes than she has racing flags she makes up the number with burgees and signal code flags. In the smaller classes racing flags are not always carried at the masthead; the Royal Windermere, for instance, flies them from the peak, and they measure 18 in. by 30 instead of the usual 18 by 27.

Racing flags are as numerous as racing owners, and more so, for every owner does not race. The rule regarding them is: "Each yacht must carry, at her main topmast-head, a rectangular distinguishing flag of a suitable size, which must not be hauled down unless she gives up the race. If the topmast be lowered on deck or carried away, the flag must be rehoisted in a conspicuous place as soon as possible." Further: "Each yacht shall be given a number with the sailing directions, and should any yacht cross the line before the signal for the start has been made, her distinguishing numeral shall be exhibited as soon as conveniently may be as a recall, and kept displayed until the said yacht shall have either returned and recrossed the line to the satisfaction of the sailing committee, or have given up the race"—these numbers being in white on a black ground and not less than 30 in. in height, in fact the same system as in the old Cumberland Fleet which flew from the gaff a white flag with a red St. George's Cross upon it with one, two, three or more blue balls, according to the position of the boats at the start.

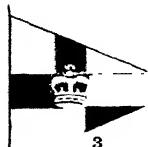
The size of racing flags varies with the size of the boat. They used to be square, but now they are half as long again as they are high. For instance a yacht 35 ft. over all will fly a flag 12 in. by 18, one of 50 ft. over



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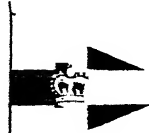
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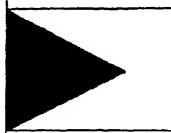
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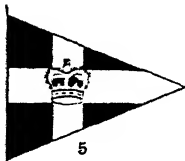
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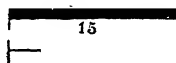
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12

PLATE XX.
YACHT FLAGS.

1. Ensign, The Yacht Club. 1815
2. Ensign, Royal Irish Yacht Club.
3. Burgee, Royal Yacht Squadron.
4. Burgee, Royal St. George.
5. Burgee, Royal Thames.
6. Burgee, Royal Highland.
7. Burgee, Royal London.
8. Burgee, Royal Dorset.
9. Burgee, Royal Yorkshire.
10. Burgee, Royal Cork.
11. Burgee, Royal Clyde.
12. Burgee, Royal Northern.
13. Racing Flag, Britannia.
14. Racing Flag, Cariad.
15. Racing Flag, Lufra.
16. Racing Flag, Waterwitch.
17. Racing Flag, Julnar.
18. Racing Flag, Foxglove.

all will have a flag measuring 14 in. by 21, and so on. As it ought to fly clear of the topsail yard, the racing flag, and sometimes the burgee, is fitted to a jack to keep it well up and well spread, just as the foot of the larger topsail is fitted with a jackyard to extend it beyond the gaff and make it set better.

A yacht has always on board an ensign, a burgee—if she belongs to a club—and a white-bordered Union Jack—the border being a fifth of the flag's height—to be used as a pilot signal, or hoisted upside down as a signal of distress or as a protest signal when racing. In addition she has a set of signal flags and as many duplicates of her owner's flag as he hopes to win prizes. Some of the larger yachts carry what might be called a banner, that is a flag bearing the owner's crest or coat of arms, which is flown from the spreader when the owner is on board, and also a rectangular blue flag flown from the starboard spreader when at anchor while the owner is absent. In America what is known as a meal pennant is flown from the starboard spreader when the owner is at meals and from the port spreader when the crew are busy in the same way, the so-called pennant being merely a white rectangular flag known on this side of the Atlantic as the dinner napkin.

A yacht-owner can fly any flag he pleases as his own, to distinguish his boat from others, providing it is not a national flag which when hoisted at the masthead informs the Customs of the port from which a ship has arrived. There ought to be no duplicates, but there are, for with such a multitude it is not easy to devise a simple sailor-like arrangement of the primary colours. The flags of many of the successful owners are, however, as well known as the colours of the jockeys in horse-racing, for the match card, unlike that of a race meeting, does not merely describe the colours, but frequently

gives them in colour as flags, so that there is no difficulty in following the vicissitudes of a race.

Of the thousands that earn their living or take their pleasure on the water not one in a hundred bothers about owners' names ; they know the boat and not the man. The yacht represents the owner and conforms to the obligations of yachting etiquette whether he is on board or not, and frequently he is not. Exceptions there are, of course, but they are few. Every one knew that the ever-victorious *Britannia* was built for Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, and in time became the King's yacht, even if she were not distinguished by her red and blue vertical with the Prince of Wales's plume ; but comparatively few knew the owner of the *Arrow*, which under the white arrow on a blue field won the Queen's Cup of 1851, which is said to have been won by the *America*, and erroneously so, for the very good reason that no yacht could or can compete for a Queen's Cup or a King's Cup which is not under the British flag and owned by a member of a British club, and of the two Queen's Cups given in 1851, one each to the Squadron and the Royal Thames, the first was won by *Bacchante* and the other by *Cygnet*. When the *America* had been bought by Lord De Blaquière and thus become British, she for the first time competed for a Queen's Cup, that given at the Red Squadron's regatta in 1852, and in the race for it round the Isle of Wight—when she sailed the course and did not scrape over Bembridge ledge—*Arrow* beat her, as for many years she had the knack of beating everything.

Every one knew the blue, white, blue horizontal of *Jullanar*, the two red chevrons on a yellow field of *Annasona*, the blue and vertical of *Egeria*, the blue wedge in the yellow field of *Valkyrie*, the red and yellow diagonal of *Fiona*, the crimson and yellow star of *Satanita*,

the black star on the white field of Vanduara, the plain blue of Buttercup, and the white diamonds and Q M on the red field of Queen Mab. And as it was in the past so it is to-day, it is the boat more than the owner with which the flag is associated, though the boat changes her flag when she changes ownership.

Sailing clubs have their burgees and racing flags as the yacht clubs do. The Thames, for instance, the fore-runner of all the numerous sailing clubs on the upper river, has a white burgee bordered with blue, having a blue cross on it charged with an anchor. The Junior Thames has a somewhat similar burgee without an anchor; the London flies a yellow dolphin on a blue field, and the Brighton the municipal pair of dolphins on a red field.

Rowing clubs also have their flags, generally of the same pattern as their ribbon, which they hoist at their boat-houses and in the bows of their racing boats on regatta days. Kingston flies its marone, white, marone horizontal; Twickenham its black, marone, black horizontal; London its blue; Leander its pink; Thames its black, white, red vertical; Moulsey its white and black stripes vertical; Reading its blue and white diagonal stripes; Lower Thames its dark blue over light blue; and, to get away from the Thames, we have the dark blue, red, dark blue horizontal of York; the black and white vertical stripes of Newcastle; the black and white diagonal stripes of the Tyne; the white, blue, white horizontal of Scotswood; the yellow-striped black of the Tewkesbury Avon; the red-edged black of Nottingham; and the red, white, red horizontal of Agecroft. Then there are the college clubs, such as Eton with pale blue, white, pale blue vertical; Radley with its red over white; and Bedford Grammar School with its red over black; and in the same category come the

dark blue of Oxford and the pale blue of Cambridge.

Then there are the colours of the college boat clubs, all of which put in an appearance as flags; the chief of those at Oxford being pink, white, blue, white and pink for Balliol; black with gold edges for Brasenose; blue with the red cardinal's hat for Christ Church; red with a blue stripe for Corpus; red-edged black for Exeter; white-edged green for Jesus; blue with a mitre for Lincoln; black and white for Magdalen; blue with white edges and a red cross for Merton; three pink and two white stripes for New; blue and white for Oriel; pink, white, pink for Pembroke; red, white, blue, white, blue, white, red for Queen's; yellow, black, red for St. John's; blue with white edges for Trinity; blue with yellow edges for University; light blue for Wadham; and blue, white, pink, white, blue for Worcester.

At Cambridge the chief boat club colours are light blue and black for Caius; blue and white for St. Catherine's; blue for Christ's; black and gold for Clare; cherry and white for Corpus; chocolate for Downing; cherry and dark blue for Emmanuel; red and black for Jesus; red and white for St. John's; violet for King's; indigo and lavender for Magdalene; claret and pale purple for Pembroke; dark blue and white for Peterhouse; red and blue for Sidney Sussex; dark blue for Trinity, and black and white for Trinity Hall. The flags flown from the college barges should not go unmentioned, but as they mostly bear the well-known college arms a detailed description is not needed, and it would require more space than the Roll of Carlawerock.

Schools have their flags, also generally of their arms, though sometimes of their cricket colours; but cricket clubs as a rule are content to fly a flag with initials. Among those that do otherwise may be noted some of the county clubs such as Middlesex with the three seaxes

turned edge downwards and Essex with its three seaxes edge upwards, Kent with its rampant white horse, Warwickshire with its bear and ragged staff, Yorkshire with its white rose, and Lancashire with its red rose. The Marylebone Cricket Club sports its yellow and red ; the Zingari its black, red and gold ; Grange its dark and light blue ; Hampstead its light and dark blue with a narrow white stripe ; Spencer its marone, pale blue and red ; Buckhurst Hill its red and orange stripes on black ; Pallingswick its red and brown with blue stripe ; Hampshire Rovers their red, white and blue ; Mote Park its Kentish grey and marone ; Private Banks their crimson, green and gold ; and the United Services their red and royal blue.

As with colleges and schools so with hospitals, all those having medical schools flying a flag with the hospital arms on it ; and as with cricket clubs so with football clubs, most of which use flags of their club colours to mark out the field, a method improved upon in international matches by the Rugby Union, which marks half the field with one colour and half with the other, the flags being white for England, blue for Scotland, green for Ireland, and red for Wales.

It has been calculated from the national flags that the real colours of England are white and red in the proportions of 72 to 28, being roughly 7 to 3 ; those of Scotland are blue and white in the proportions of 66·2 to 33·8, that is 2 to 1. The British colours are red, white and blue in the proportions of 37·4, 34·2 and 28·4 say 7, 6, 5 ; and the French are blue, white and red in the proportions of 30, 33 and 37 ; neither those of Britain nor those of France being the red, white and blue in equal stripes which are the colours of Holland.

Red, white and blue—really white, red and blue—are also the colours of the United States. “The Red,

White and Blue," the marching tune of our Royal Navy and Royal Marines, is of American origin; the song, which was written and composed by D. T. Shaw, U.S.A., owing its introduction to E. L. Davenport, who sang it in *Black-eyed Susan* in 1854, when its verses were crowded with references to the Crimean War. Thus an Englishman gave the Americans "Yankee Doodle," and an American gave us in exchange "Britannia the Pride of the Ocean."

Political clubs and factions also have their distinctive flags, though fortunately to much less an extent than formerly when they were a prominent feature at election times; and they are in the main of the same colours as those worn by the party supporters, the national flag being borne indiscriminately by all sides to show that, though opinions may differ, the difference is only as to the best way in which the country should be governed. There is, however, no distinctive colour for any one party throughout the three kingdoms.

In matters political the local colours are often those that were once the livery colours of the principal family in the district, and were assumed by its adherents for the family's sake quite independently of its political creed. The suggestion of anything livery is now unpleasant, but in feudal days the colours of the great houses were worn by the whole country-side without any thought of toadyism or servitude. As the influence was hereditary and at one time all-powerful, the colour of the castle or abbey or great house became the symbol of the party of which these establishments were the local centre and visible evidence, and the colour survives locally, though the political and social system that originated it has passed away. Generally the old Tory colour was blue and the Whig buff, but owing to local influences the exceptions were many; and in these days of several factions it is

difficult to know a candidate by his colours except in his particular constituency, and not always then, for there are cases in which he has to be blue in some of its streets and buff in others. Anyway it is worth remembering that blue was the colour of the Cavaliers, buff that of the Roundheads, and orange that of the Whigs who supported the Prince of Orange who became William III.

Akin to the flags of the yacht-owners are those of the ship-owners, which are of the same proportions. These are known as house flags; and there are over a thousand of them, worn by almost every merchantman afloat, from the largest mailboat to the smallest tug; for no shipping company, large or small, is complete without its house flag, to be flown at the masthead by every vessel of its fleet. At the same time the line is almost as well known by its funnels, the combination of house flag and funnel-marks making identification easy.

As flags, many are really good, being simple, effective, and recognizable at a glance, those of the older firms especially so; but then the older the firm the wider was its choice. It is with flags as with coats of arms, names in natural science, and many other things, the simpler forms come first, and those that follow have to be complicated because the ground has already been occupied. In these days it is not an easy thing to design a new house flag, and hence the vast majority bear the initials of the firm and look cheap and unsightly wherever shown.

In the days of the clippers the house flags were really racing flags, and all were in good taste. One of them, that of the Aberdeen line, survives in force, and the flag of the famous Thermopylæ, the red over blue with a white star in the centre, is never absent from the port of London. With it there used to be Green's, the white with a blue central square and the red cross over it; and Money Wigram's, the white with a blue central square

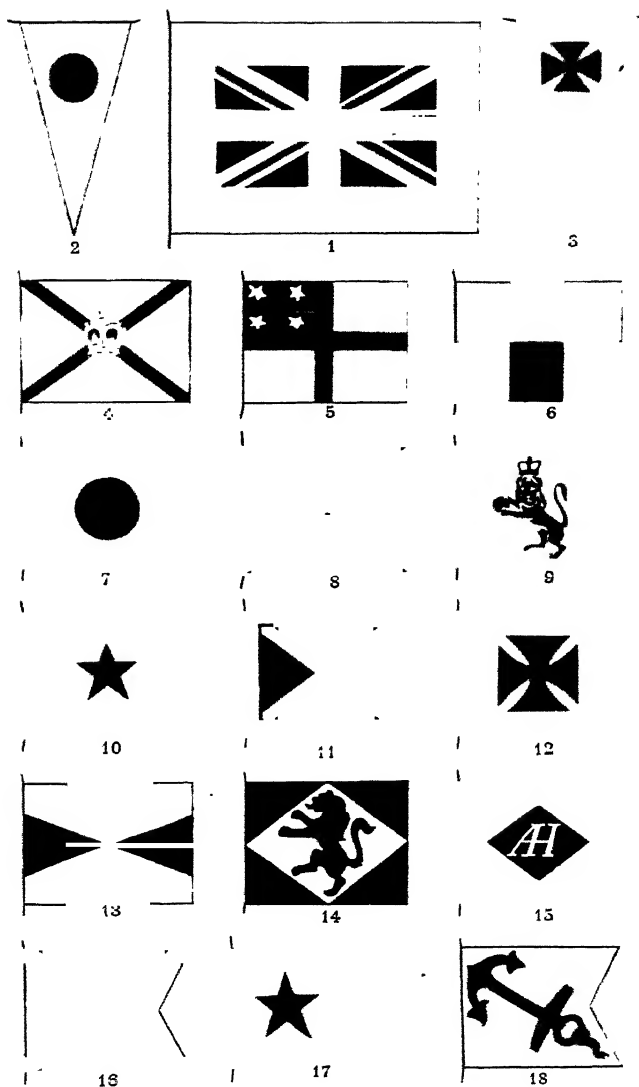
and the red cross under it; and Devitt & Moore's, the red and blue over the blue and red with the white central rectangle; and with them that of the American White Star Line to Australia, of which Ismays became the owners and developed eventually into the North Atlantic Line of the present, which has resumed its close association with Americans, though sailing under the British flag. Their red burgee with its white star has been one of the best known flags on the transatlantic route since they started as a steamer line in 1870, and is noteworthy as being the first house flag flown over armed merchant cruisers, the first ships of that description being the *Teutonic* and *Majestic* of the White Star Line. At one time there was another red swallow-tail on the route, that of the American line, which had the white keystone and red star in the centre—the keystone popularly known as the jam pot.

The Anchor Line, which began in 1856, is known by its white swallow-tail with the red anchor sloping its crown towards the sky; another white swallow-tail is that with a red star, which is the badge of the Red Star Line; and another white burgee is that of the British India, which bears a red diagonal cross. This company is now associated with the P.&O., which with its flag of four triangles, white over yellow, and blue with its apex joining red, has been for years the foremost British line. Its history goes back to its ships to Spain and Portugal, whence the *Peninsular*, its full title being assumed in 1839, the *Oriental* coming not from the route, but from the name of the vessel which it worked with the Great Liverpool in carrying the mails to Alexandria. Quite as well known is the red flag on which is the yellow lion holding the world, the modest device of the Cunarders which have been steamers ever since the company started in 1840. The Royal Mail sails under a white flag on which is a red diagonal

PLATE XXI

HOUSE FLAGS OF BRITISH LINERS.

1. The Jack of the Mercantile Marine.
2. Wilson Line.
3. Moss Line.
4. Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.
5. Shaw, Savill & Co.
6. Canadian Pacific Railway.
7. China Merchant Co.
8. Peninsular and Oriental Co
9. Cunard Line.
10. Aberdeen Line.
11. Union-Castle Line.
12. Houlder Line.
13. Harrison Line.
14. Clan Line.
15. Blue Funnel Line.
16. British India Company.
17. White Star Line.
18. Anchor Line.



cross with a crown in the centre ; it received its name—which must be understood in a limited sense—on its establishment in 1839 as a company for the conveyance of the Royal Mail to the West Indies.

The Allan Line, which originated as the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, flies the red, white and blue Code T with a red pennant over it, thus having a house signal instead of a flag. Years ago the Cunarders instead of the lion flew two pennants, a blue one with a white diagonal cross over a red one, just as the Ducal Line flies one, blue and yellow horizontal, over another which is yellow and blue vertical. The Moss Line flies a red pennant with a white maltese cross ; the Wilson Line is known by its white pennant with the red ball, and the Canadian Northern by its Wilson pennant adapted as the prolongation of two St. Andrew Crosses divided by a red stripe. The Canadian Pacific flies a chequer of six squares, white, red, white over red, white, red—one of the best of the newer flags and very different to the company arms flown by most of the railway boats.

The Orient has dropped its initials and hoists a white flag with a blue cross and a crown in the middle, thereby setting the fashion for the London County Council, which replaces the royal crown with a mural one. The Union-Castle has a blue flag with a red diagonal cross and a white one, suggestive of the two lines of which it is the outcome. The flag of the British and African is a blue swallow-tail with a white cross, of the same character as that of the African under the same ownership, which is the white swallow-tail with a red cross and a central crown, the red cross burgee without a crown being the flag of the Cork Shipping Company.

The Shaw Savill flag is a white ensign having in the upper canton four white stars on a blue field divided into four by a red cross, and the story goes that it was origin-

ally designed as a national flag for New Zealand. The China Merchant Steam Navigation Company has the red flag with the golden ball which, owing to the first two words of the company's title, figures on some of the coloured sheets of flags as the merchant ensign of China.

The Blue Anchor Line has a white flag with a blue anchor sloping downwards; Houlders have a white Maltese cross on a red field; the Clan boats fly red with a red rampant lion in a white diamond, and the Glens have a pilot jack with red sides. The Bibby Line has the plainest of flags—red without device—in fact the sort of thing that used to be carried in front of a steam roller. Those with initials need not detain us, and we have had enough to indicate the nature of the house flags of the vessels of our mercantile marine, which may be taken as typical of all.

CHAPTER VII

SIGNAL FLAGS

SIGNALLING began with sign-talking, and the best sign-talkers in the world have for many ages been the North American Indians. Among them the language of gesture reached a pitch of excellence, inasmuch as it included effective communication at a distance, even superior to that of the organizers of the Sicilian Vespers who, in 1282, planned the rebellion throughout the island and fixed the day and the hour without a word ~~being~~ spoken or written. Every tribe, and branch of a tribe, was, and is, known afar off by its particular sign as clearly as a ship is known by its national flag; and the fact that the sign language, near and distant, is understood by every tribe between the oceans proves that it is older than the division into tribes.

A few examples will suffice. The Indian sign of danger is to form the right-hand forefinger and thumb into a curve and point towards the place in which the danger lies. When ordering a man to halt, the right hand is raised with the palm in front and slowly pushed backwards and forwards several times. If a messenger is being sent to tell him why he has been stopped the right hand is extended, flat and edgewise, and moved downwards several times. The sign of peace is the palm of the hand held up. In asking the question as to your identity, the right hand is raised palm in front and slowly moved

to the right and left. In asking if it be peace, both hands are raised and grasped as if shaking hands.

There is a code of signalling by blanket or skin. When buffalo are found the blanket is held out at length with the hands far apart. When it is intended to camp the blanket is raised aloft on a pole. In an invitation to approach the lower edge of the blanket is waved inwards to the legs. When the enemy or anything else is found the signal is to ride round and round in a circle, all one way if there is safety, but passing and repassing each other if there is danger. If anything suspicious attracts the notice of a scout, he grasps his blanket with the right hand and waves it to the ground from the height of his shoulder; if all is clear he waves it horizontally; if an alarm is to be given he runs downhill in zigzag fashion.

Smoke signals and dust signals are frequent, so many pillars at different intervals having different meanings. At night, arrow-signalling is used. The arrows are wrapped with tow round their heads, the tow is dipped in some resinous matter and lighted and the blazing messenger shot aloft to be visible for many miles. Further, as Colonel Dodge describes, Indians signal and manœuvre by flashing the sunshine from what is practically a heliograph. Here we have every step in the art of signalling, taking us back years before the line of fires that bore along the news of the fall of Troy.

Signalling by fire at night and smoke by day seems to have spread everywhere, and still survives in out-of-the-way corners; but it did not remain at merely raising the fire for one message, but to yield many messages by people standing or passing in front of it, in different numbers and attitudes, and even holding different objects, often with a code of many signs in which were the rudiments of flashlight-signalling. The number of fires, too, was not without significance; they were not lighted in num

bers to give a bigger blaze, but to give a different signal. To come close home, there is an old Act of the Scots Parliament of 1455 cap. 48, directing "that one bale or fagot shall be warning of the approach of the English in any manner: two bales that they are coming indeed: four bales blazing beside each other that the enemy are in great force." The reference to this Act is given by Sir Walter Scott in explanation of his vivid stanza (III. 29) in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*:—

"The ready page, with hurried hand,
Awaked the need-fire's slumbering brand,
And ruddy blushed the heaven:
For a sheet of flame, from the turret high,
Waved like a blood-flag on the sky,
All flaring and uneven.
And soon a score of fires, I ween,
From height, and hill, and cliff, were seen,
Each with warlike tidings fraught;
Each from each the signal caught;
Each after each they glanced to sight,
As stars arise upon the night.
They gleamed on many a dusky tarn,
Haunted by the lonely earn;
On many a cairn's grey pyramid,
Where urns of mighty chiefs lie hid;
Till high Dunedin the blazes saw,
From Soltra and Dumpender Law;
And Lothian heard the Regent's order,
That all should bowne them for the Border."

The idea of this excellent verse was adopted by Macaulay in his more familiar description of the beacons of the Armada, of which the existing map shows that they were not lighted on ground because it was high, but because it was a point in a carefully thought out system of signalling which extended all over England.

Fires on a system like this, and torches behind screens, boards rising and falling, shutters and louvres opening

and closing, and curious geometrical shapes in frames were in use for centuries until they were eventually superseded by the semaphore of Claude Chappe in 1792. Chappe was going to call his invention the tachygraph, but Miot de Mérito told him the word did not express the meaning he intended. "It should be," said Miot, "the telegraph, from tele, distant, and graphein, to write," and the telegraph it became. The word sprang into fashion, and long before what we know as the telegraph appeared on the scene all distant signalling, semaphoric or not, even that by flags, came to be called telegraphic.

But for many years previous to the invention of the semaphore flag-signalling had been in use. Some people date it back to the thirteenth century if not earlier. The references, however, are obscure, and it is not until there was a Royal Navy that we meet with anything definite. In the *Fighting Instructions*, 1530-1816, so ably edited by Mr. Julian Corbett for the Navy Records Society we have not only a most interesting book, but are, for the first time, provided with the means of noting when the flags were introduced and the use that was made of them.

Sir Walter Raleigh signalled with his sails. In his orders to his ships "bound for the south parts of America or elsewhere," in 1617, orders 9, 10 and 11 read: "If you discover any sail at sea, either to windward or to leeward of the admiral, or if any two or three of our fleet shall discover any such like sail which the admiral cannot discern, if she be a great ship and but one, you shall strike your main topsail and hoist it again so often as you judged the ship to be hundred tons of burthen; or if you judge her to be 200 tons to strike and hoist twice; if 300 tons thrice, and answerable to your opinion of her greatness. If you discover a small ship, you shall do the like with your fore topsail; but if you discover many

great ships, you shall not only strike your main topsail often, but put out your ensign in the main top. And if such fleet or ship go large before the wind, you shall also, after your sign given, go large and stand as any of the fleet doth : I mean no longer than that you may judge that the admiral and the rest have seen your sign and you so standing. And if you went large at the time of your discovery you shall hale off your sheets for a little time, and then go large again that the rest may know that you go large to show us that the ship or fleet discovered keeps that course. So shall you do if the ship or fleet discovered have her tacks aboard, namely, if you also had your tacks aboard at the time of the discovery, you shall bear up for a little time, and after hale your sheets again to show us what course the ship or fleet holds."

The same system was adopted by Sir Edward Cecil, afterwards Viscount Wimbledon, who is notable for a novelty that proved useful. Under Henry VIII the ships of each division in battle were distinguished by the position in which they carried their ensign; those of the first squadron flying the St. George from the fore topmast, those of the middle division flying it from their mainmast, those of the third from their mizenmast. In Cecil's orders of October 3rd, 1665, appears the first record of the division of a fleet into red, white and blue squadrons: "(17) The whole fleet is to be divided into three squadrons: the admiral's squadron to wear red flags and red pennants on the main topmast-head; the vice-admiral's squadron to wear blue flags and blue pennants on the fore topmast-heads; the rear-admiral's squadron to wear white flags and white pennants on the mizen topmast-heads."

In 1650, when the admiral hoisted a red flag to the fore topmast-head, the fleet understood that each ship was to

take the best opportunity it could to engage with the enemy next to it, and when any were in distress they put a wheft in their ensign, that is tied it together at the head and middle so as to make a sort of loose bundle of it. Three years afterwards came an order, signed by Blake, Deane and Monck, that when a squadron was in trouble, that of the admiral flew a pennant at the fore topmast-head, those of the vice-admiral or rear-admiral flying it at the main; and when any ship had to bear away from the enemy, "to stop a leak or mend what else is amiss, which cannot otherwise be repaired, he is to put out a pennant on the mizen yard-arm or ensign staff, whereby the rest of the ships may have notice what it is for." When the admiral had the wind of the enemy and the other ships of the fleet were to windward of the admiral, "then upon hoisting up a blue flag at the mizen yard, or the mizen topmast, every such ship then is to bear up into his wake." The signal for trying to get to windward of the enemy was a broad red flag at the admiral's spritsail, topmast shrouds, forestay or main topmast-stay; while the flag on the mizen shrouds or yard-arm was a call to the flagships to follow in the admiral's wake or take station in front of him; and a white flag on the mizen yard-arm or topmast-head was a call to the small frigates to come under his stern for orders—and these signals continued in the navy for many years.

In the instructions by the Duke of York, April 10th, 1665, we have another signal: "(15) If, the fleet going before the wind, the admiral would have the vice-admiral and the ships of the starboard quarter to clap by the wind and come to their starboard tack, then he will hoist upon the mizen topmast-head a red flag, and in case he would have the rear-admiral and the ships on the larboard quarter to come to their larboard tack, then he will hoist up a blue flag in the same place." And in

the additional instructions of eight days later we find : “ (9) When the admiral would have the van of his fleet to tack first, the admiral will put abroad the Union flag at the staff of the fore topmast-head if the red flag be not abroad ; but if the red flag be abroad then the fore topsail shall be lowered a little, and the Union flag shall be spread from the cap of the fore topmast downwards ” ; and “ (10) When the admiral would have the rear of the fleet to tack first, the Union flag shall be put abroad on the flagstaff of the mizen topmast-head ; and for the better notice of these signals through the fleet, each flag-ship is, upon sight of either of the said signals, to make the said signals, that so every ship may know what they are to do, and they are to continue out the said signals until they be answered.”

Further, on April 27th, came this, being the first mention of a new flag which is one of those flown by H.M.S. Tiger in Van de Velde's picture : “ When the admiral shall put a flag striped with white and red upon the fore topmast-head, the admiral of the white squadron shall send out ships to chase ; when on the mizen topmast-head the admiral of the blue squadron shall send out ships to chase. If the admiral shall put out a flag striped with white and red upon any other place, that ship of the admiral's own division whose signal for call is a pennant in that place shall chase, excepting the vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the admiral's squadron. If a flag striped red and white be upon the main topmast shrouds under the standard, the vice-admiral of the red is to send ships to chase. If the flag striped red and white be hoisted on the ensign staff, the rear-admiral of the red is to send ships to chase.”

This flag comes in for a different purpose in the instructions of Admiral Edward Russell—afterwards Earl of Orford—in 1691 : “ When the admiral would have

the red squadron draw into a line of battle, abreast of one another, he will put abroad a flag striped red and white on the flagstaff at the main topmast-head, with a pennant under it, and fire a gun. If he would have the white squadron, or those that have the second post in the fleet, to do the like, the signal shall be a flag striped red, white and blue, with a pennant under it, at the aforesaid place." Here the red, white and blue makes its first appearance, and in Numbers 15, 16 and 17 of these instructions great use is made of the yellow flag which was substituted for the red one in Number 10 of 1665 already quoted, by Lord Dartmouth in 1688.

With Sir George Rooke's instructions of 1703—Admiral Rooke who Gibraltar took—another flag makes its appearance: "(31) When the admiral would have the fleet draw into a line of battle one astern of the other with a large wind, and if he would have those lead who are to lead with their starboard tacks aboard by a wind, he will hoist a red and white flag at the mizen peak and fire a gun." Another flag was introduced by Admiral Vernon: "In case of meeting any squadron of the enemy's ships, whose number may be less than those of the squadron of His Majesty's ships under my command, and that I should have any of the smaller ships quit the line, I will in such case make the signal for speaking with the captain of that ship I would have quit the line; and at the same time I will put a flag, striped yellow and white at the flagstaff, at the main topmast-head, upon which the said ship or ships are to quit the line and the next ships are to close the line, for having our ships of greatest force to form a line just equal to the enemy's."

A few years later Lord Anson's additional fighting instructions, which we will have in full, show that signalling was getting more into shape: "Whereas it may often be necessary for ships in line of battle to regulate

themselves by bearing on some particular point of the compass from each other without having regard to their bearing abreast or ahead of one another; You are hereby required and directed to strictly observe the following instructions: When the signal is made for the squadron to draw into a line of battle at any particular distance, and I would have them keep north and south of each other, I will hoist a red flag with a white cross in the mizen topmast shrouds to show the quarter of the compass, and for the intermediate points I will hoist on the flagstaff at the mizen topmast-head, when they bear N. by E. and S. by W., one common pennant, NNE. and SSW. two common pennants, NE. by N. and SW. by S. three common pennants, NE. by SW. a Dutch jack; And I will hoist under the Dutch jack when I would have them bear NE. by E. and SW. by W. one common pennant, ENE. and WSW. two common pennants, E. by N. and W. by S. three common pennants, and fire a gun with each signal. When I would have them bear from each other on any of the points on the NW. and SE. quarters I will hoist a blue and white flag on the mizen topmast shrouds to show the quarter of the compass and distinguish the intermediate points they are to form on from the N. and S. in the same manner as in the NE. and SW. quarter." Here we have the red flag with the white cross and the blue and white.

In 1756 Hawke adds another: "If, upon seeing an enemy, I should think it necessary to alter the disposition of the ships in the line of battle, and would have any ships change station with each other, I will make the signal to speak with the captains of such ships, and hoist the flag chequered red and blue on the flagstaff at the mizen topmast-head." Three years later Boscawen uses the blue and yellow chequer: "(4) When I would have the two divisions of the fleet form themselves into a separate

line of battle, one ship ahead of another at the distance of a cable's length asunder and each division to be abreast of the other, when formed at the distance of one cable's length and a half, I will hoist a flag chequered blue and yellow at the mizen peak, and fire a gun, and then every ship is to get into her station accordingly." In (6) he adds the red and white chequer: "When I would have the ships spread in a line directly ahead of each other, and keep at a distance of a mile asunder, I will hoist a flag chequered red and white at the mizen peak, and fire a gun." In (9) he introduces the white flag with a red cross as a signal for the ships nearest the enemy to engage till the rest came up; in (15), for ordering the leading ship to alter her course, he hoists a flag striped white and blue; and in (19) he introduces "a blue flag pierced with white," which seems to have been the blue peter—that is the blue repeater—when he "would have the ships that chase bring down their chase to me."

It should be understood that other uses were found for these flags than those we have selected from the fighting instructions, and that in the course of years the matter of naval signalling was becoming so complicated that many minds were at work on attempts at improving it. Among others Admiral Sir Charles Henry Knowles claimed to have devised a new system which he gave to Lord Howe in 1778, and on a later edition of this code is a note in his handwriting: "These signals were written in 1778, as an idea—altered and published—then altered again in 1780—afterwards arranged differently in 1787, and finally in 1794, but not printed at Sir C.H. Knowles's expense until 1798, when they were sent to the Admiralty, but they were not published, although copies have been given to sea officers."

About 1781 Rear-Admiral Richard Kempenfelt, who went down in the *Royal George*, produced an amended

code which he had introduced as captain of the grand fleet, of which a manuscript copy is at the Royal United Service Institution, where there is also *An Essay on Signals* dated 1788, "By an Officer of the British Navy." In this the flags are numbered: 1, being red; 2, white; 3, blue; 4, yellow; 5, red and white vertical; 6, red and blue vertical; 7, white and blue vertical; 8, white and red vertical; 9, blue and yellow vertical; and 0 being yellow and red vertical—a very clear set of flags on paper, but several of them likely to be mistaken for each other when hoisted in a light breeze, a fault that might have been remedied by making three of the group horizontal.

The working of this code would have been easier had some of the numbers been omitted. For instance, when such a number as 444 was required, it would appear to be necessary to have three flags, but to avoid this multiplication of identical flags, a red triangular flag called a decimal, a white triangular called a centenary, and a blue triangular called a millenary, were used; and these were placed as required before the unit to be repeated. By this plan 444 was expressed by the yellow flag with the red and white pennants below it. Sometimes these flags really meant numbers, and then the required number was hoisted with a yellow swallow-tail. Thus in answer to "How many guns does she carry?" if the response were 50, the 5 and the 0 flags, with the swallow-tail, or cornet as it was called, would be hoisted, while the same 50 signal without the cornet would signify, "Whole fleet change course four points to starboard."

If we want to find the English meaning of some French word we turn to the French-English half of our dictionary, but if we required the French meaning of an English word we should refer to the English-French part of the book; and signal codes came in like manner to be divided

into flag-message and message-flag sections as in this manuscript. By the system in question we should find, by referring to the flag-message half of our book, that the three flags 7, 3, 6 meant "Recall cruisers," while 8, 3, 6 meant "Sprung a leak." On the other hand, if we wished to send such an order, we should turn to the message-flag half of our code book, and under the heading of "cruisers" run down all the references devoted to such vessels until we arrived at "Cruisers, recall—7, 3, 6."

Only fourteen flags, that is the ten numerals with the three pennants and the cornet, were used for sending hundreds of messages, but the anonymous author adds: "Exclusive of this arrangement, I would propose to have the most current signals in battle made with one flag only, and these should be used on the day of battle only; a similarity between these and the flags used as the numerical signals ought as much as possible to be avoided." And some of the distinctive flags for battle use that he proposes are worth noting. The sun rising on a red field from a base of blue signifies "Engage the enemy"; a yellow and red vertical with a red rectangular cross on the yellow and a blue square on the red means "Close action"; a white flag with red ball bearing a yellow rectangular cross means "Invert line"; and a blue rectangular cross on white with a blue square on the cross—in short, Money Wigram's house flag with a blue cross instead of a red one—stands for "Force the enemy's line." We have lingered on this interesting old code at some length, though it was not adopted and none of the flags are in vogue now except the plain ones, for it was not compiled in vain.

It would seem that Knowles's code was used by Lord Howe in his first signal book of 1782, when the signals were given separately, and the instructions were for the

first time described as "explanatory of and relative to the signals contained in the signal book herewith delivered." In these instructions there is but one that concerns our special subject, the only one in which a flag is mentioned, and that is No. 26: "In action all the ships in the fleet are to wear red ensigns," from which it is apparent that Nelson's idea of fighting under one ensign—the white in his case—at Trafalgar was really derived from Howe, who saved confusion under another colour, also his own, for he was an Admiral of the Red.

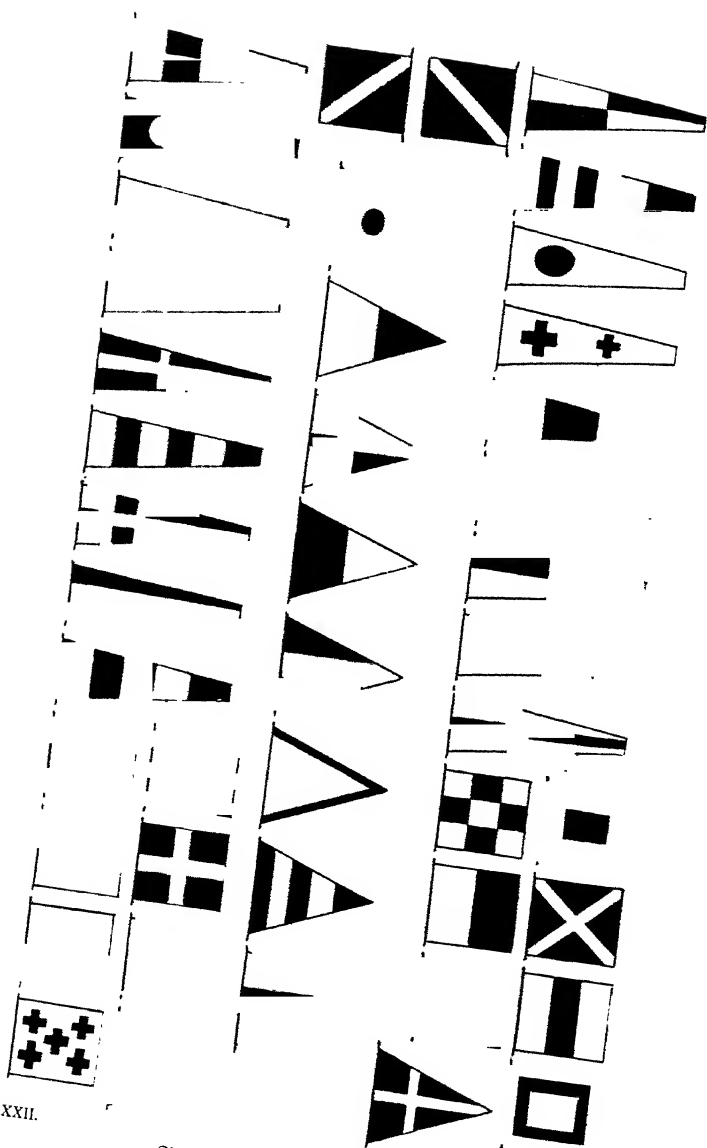
Howe, in 1790, produced his second signal book, which effected notable changes; and it was under this code that he fought the First of June, and Duncan fought Camperdown; but Jervis, when in command of the Mediterranean Fleet, altered it slightly and changed the numbering of the flags before he fought the battle of St. Vincent; and it was under Jervis's code that Nelson fought the battle of the Nile. A new edition, with slight alterations, was issued in 1799, in which the Signal Book and Instructions were bound together, and among the instructions was one officially adopting Jervis's action—which probably was not new: "If the Admiral should have reason to believe that the enemy has got possession of these signals, he will make the signal for changing the figures of the flags. The figure, which by the new arrangement each flag is to represent, is to be immediately entered in every ship's signal book."

The signal book of 1799 had twelve flags which stood for the figures 1 to 0, making ten, the other two being substitutes to be used in the event of the number of the signal having any figure in it used more than once; 22, for instance, would be flown as 2 with a substitute beneath; in other words the substitute meant "ditto." The flags were: (1) yellow, red, yellow, horizontal; (2) white, with a blue rectangular cross; (3) blue, white,

blue, horizontal; (4) yellow with a black border top and bottom; (5) red and white squares over white and red squares; (6) white and blue diagonal; (7) blue with yellow diagonal cross; (8) blue and yellow vertical; (9) blue, white, red, horizontal; (0) the blue peter; the first substitute being plain white. The signals consisted of one-flag signals, and other signals, numbered from 11 upwards, of the fighting orders, such as 15, "Engage the enemy," 16, "Engage the enemy more closely," but the total of these was not extensive.

It appeared to Sir Home Popham, working on the same lines as those of the manuscript signal book of 1788 already mentioned, that the vocabulary might be very much enlarged, and he devised a new code of combinations of figures giving certain numbers, each of which meant a word and generally some of its inflections; thus 253 stood for England or English, or as it appears in the code "England-ish," and 261 for "Ever-y-thing-where." This vocabulary was used for the first time at the battle of Copenhagen in April, 1801, and found so useful that, in 1803, Captain Sir Home Popham's *Telegraphic Signals and Marine Vocabulary* was issued to the fleet as a companion volume to the 1799 book; and it was from this edition that Nelson's historic signal was made.

The two books were used by the fleet off Toulon, but in August, 1803, the schooner Redbridge of 16 guns, commanded by Lieutenant G. Lempriere, was captured by a squadron of French frigates, to be recaptured as it happened, but that is of no importance here. In consequence of the capture the Admiralty issued a circular letter dated November 4th, 1803, which owing to what followed had better be given in full: "My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, having reason to believe that by the capture of the Redbridge, schooner, in the Mediterranean, a great part, if not the whole of the private



Pl. XXII.

Signal Flags—Royal Navy.

Y. 153.

PLATE XXII.

SIGNAL FLAGS, ROYAL NAVY.

Signalling flags now used in the Royal Navy ; signification
changeable at any time.

signals used on board H.M. Ships have fallen into the hands of the enemy; and their Lordships having, therefore, resolved that a change of the numeral flags as described in page 14 of the Day Signal Books shall immediately take place, I have it in command from their Lordships to send you herewith a painted copy of the flags as now altered, with blank copies thereof, and to signify their Lordships' direction to you, so soon as you shall have caused the said blank copies to be properly painted, to furnish one of them to each of the Captains and Commanders of H.M. Ships under your command, with orders to the said officers to paste the same on the 14th page of the Day Signal Book now in their possession, and to use the altered numeral flags instead of the numeral flags at present in use until they receive further orders. And their Lordships having reason to apprehend that not only Lieutenant Lempriere, of the Redbridge, schooner, but that other officers under the rank of commanders, have been permitted to take, or otherwise have obtained, copies of the signals described in the Day and Night Signal Books above mentioned, their Lordships have further commanded me to signify their direction to you to give the strictest injunctions that such improper proceedings may not take place in future, and that you recall such copies of the said signal books as may be in the possession of officers for whom they are not intended."

This letter was sent to about twenty admirals and commodores with a number of slips coloured, or in outline to be coloured from the copy, among these being Cornwallis, who had twenty painted and twenty blank, Keith, who got thirty painted and sixty blank, and Nelson, who received one painted and fifty blank, the Admiralty evidently thinking he was not so busy as the others. On the arrival of the letter and enclosures, as many of

the blanks as were necessary were duly coloured and distributed to the ships; and several of these 1799 books with slips pasted in on the fourteenth page are still in existence, one of them being at the Royal United Service Museum, on which is written, "This is the signal book used at Trafalgar."

The "change in the numeral flags" mentioned in the letter consisted in changing the numerical values of the twelve flags, the first becoming the fifth, the second the first, the third the seventh, the fourth the first substitute, the fifth the fourth, the sixth the cipher, the seventh the third, the eighth the ninth, the ninth the sixth, the tenth the second, and the first substitute the eighth, the second substitute remaining as before; in short, such a change as could have been made by the admiral at any time by a preliminary signal to his squadron had he found it advisable. The effect was that No. 1 was the white with a blue cross; No. 2, the blue peter; No. 3 the blue with yellow diagonal cross; No. 4, the red and white chequer; No. 5, the yellow, red, yellow, horizontal; No. 6, the blue, white, red, horizontal; No. 7, the blue, white, blue, vertical; No. 8, the white first substitute; No. 9, the yellow and blue vertical, and No. 0, the white and blue diagonal, the first substitute being the yellow with the black horizontal borders.

To prove that Nelson's copies were duly delivered, we will quote from his *Despatches and Letters*, vol. i., page 375: "Victory, at Sea, January 16th, 1804. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having resolved that a change of the Numeral Flags described in page 14 of the Day Signal Book shall immediately take place, I have it in command from their Lordships to send you a painted copy of the Flags as now altered, and to desire that you will paste the same on the 14th page of the Day Signal Book in your possession, and to use the altered Numeral

Flags instead of the Numeral Flags at present in use until you receive further orders."

In order that there should be no doubt as to whether the signal was in the general code or the telegraphic code, Popham, in his "instructions for the flags used with this vocabulary only," says that, before a signal in his code is made, a preparative signal should be flown, the signal being a diagonal red and white flag; and that when a message was finished the diagonal yellow and blue might be hoisted or not according to circumstances, or the telegraph flag hauled down. The red and white diagonal was generally hoisted at the yard-arm, and it is this flag which is meant by the word "telegraph" that precedes the actual numbers of the Nelson signal which are entered in the logs of the ships engaged in the battle.

The fleet was advancing slowly in the light wind and within about a mile and a half of the enemy when the idea occurred to Nelson of giving a general signal of encouragement. He was walking with Captain Blackwood on the poop of the Victory when he said, "I'll now amuse the fleet with a signal," and asked him if he did not think there was one yet wanting. Blackwood answered that he thought the whole of the fleet seemed clearly to understand what they were about and to vie with each other which should first get nearest to the Victory or the Royal Sovereign. Nelson, however, thought otherwise, and going up to his flag-lieutenant said, "Mr. Pasco, I wish to say to the fleet, 'England confides that every man will do his duty'; you must be quick, for I have one more to make, which is for close action." To this Pasco replied, "If your lordship will permit me to substitute expects for confides, the signal will soon be completed, because the word expects is in the vocabulary and confides must be spelled." "That will do, Pasco, make it directly," said Nelson quickly—"with seeming satisfac-

tion," wrote Pasco in his letter, which is the authority for this.

And then Roon the signalman ran up the red and white diagonal to the yard-arm, and, with Pasco putting the numbers on the slate, sent up in succession to the main topgallantmast-head 253 for ENGLAND ; 269 for EXPECTS ; 863 for THAT ; 261 for EVERY ; 471 for MAN ; 958 for WILL ; 2, the first substitute, and 0 (that is 220) for DO ; 370 for HIS ; and then, duty not being in the vocabulary, he had to spell it, and up went 4 for D, 21 for U, 19 for T, and 24 for Y ; regarding which it may not be out of place to remark that in flag-signalling you can give no emphasis, and it was left for an American author to point out that in this case the emphasis should be on " every " and not on " duty." When the twelve successive hoists had been duly answered by a few ships in the van, down came the telegraph from the yard-arm, and up to the masthead went No. 16 from the general code, meaning " Engage the enemy more closely," which by Nelson's orders was kept up until it was shot away.

Such was the best known signal in history ; and when the Victory returned to Portsmouth, never to leave it again, these flags, in the order given, were hoisted rainbow fashion over her laurel-crowned masts every Trafalgar Day. At first there was no difficulty about them ; the men who hoisted them had been in the battle and knew them by heart. But after eighty years it occurred to a pamphleteer of inadequate research that, as he knew of no signal book between 1799 and 1808, the numerical value of the flags could not have been as in 1808, but must have been the same as at the former date. Knowing nothing of the Redbridge circular or Nelson's order, or the signal book of 1804, and disregarding, or never noticing, the instruction empowering the admiral to change the numbers of the flags whenever he pleased, he actually

persuaded the Admiralty of 1885 to issue a coloured leaflet practically declaring that the officers and signalmen who served in the battle did not know the signals they had fought under, and ordered that for the future the flags were to be used as in the unaltered copies of the 1799 book.

The order was received with amazement, as there were many copies of the signal in existence, two in particular, one forming part of the structural decoration of the mantelpiece in the Trafalgar Room at Trafalgar House, the seat of Earl Nelson in Wiltshire—the estate bought with the £100,000 from the nation which went with the earldom conferred on Nelson's brother—and another in Allen's *Battles of the British Navy* known to every reader of naval history. But Admiralty orders must be obeyed, and every year for twenty-three years the Victory displayed the wrong signal—the numbers then shown, according to the proper code, being 147, 106, 907, 105, substitute 35, 649, 182, 732, substitute, 15, 56, 11, which is clearly absurd owing to the position of the substitutes—and the books published during that period spread the error.

Fortunately in 1908 the Admiralty Librarian in the course of certain researches he was engaged upon made a discovery. "A signal book," he wrote, "has just been brought to light at the Admiralty which bears the signatures of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, Rear-Admiral John Markham, Captain Sir Harry Neale, and Mr. Benjamin Tucker. As these gentlemen were only in office together at the Admiralty between January 21, 1804, and May 15, 1804, the date of authorization of the book is fixed as about 18 months before Trafalgar was fought." In this book the numbering of the flags is the same as that on the slips issued with the Redbridge circular, which was continued in the signal book of 1808. The result of this discovery and of the discussion that

followed was a new Admiralty circular admitting that the change made in 1885 was unwarrantable and ordering a reversion to the older and correct rendering of the signal.

How the error came to be accepted in some places is a mystery. In the library of the United Service Institution there is a signal book on which is written, "This is the signal book used at Trafalgar," and it has the flags pasted in as required in the orders we have quoted. In a case in the hall is Pasco's letter, saying that as soon as he had finished the famous signal he hoisted, at Nelson's order, No. 16 for close action. Facing the letter is the large model of the battle in which the Victory is shown entering the enemy's line flying No. 16 from her main; and the flags are according to the above-mentioned book. And notwithstanding all this, the Institution during their Nelson Exhibition in 1905 were daily using the wrong code outside while the right one was within—a fact not mentioned in the threepenny *Account of Lord Nelson's Signal* on sale at the museum, which contains two coloured illustrations, one showing the signal correctly, the other showing what the Admiralty made of it during the three-and-twenty years they were misled.

Enough has been said in explanation of the method of signalling by numbers. In course of time other editions of the signal book were issued, and with the introduction of signalling by letters for the commercial code, which we shall have to deal with immediately, the Admiralty adopted that method in addition to the number system.

Two of the flags in the Trafalgar code have gone out of use—the yellow, red and yellow, and the black-edged yellow. They have gone the way of the red and white striped chase flag, Vernon's yellow and white stripes, Hawke's chequered red and blue, and many others, like them, rejected for their want of visibility and similarity

to others when drooping in a calm. Nowadays the navy uses about seventy flags, a few of which have a definite meaning, but all of which can have their signification changed at any moment. What that may be this morning we do not know, and it would not be desirable to state if we did, but the code in Burney of 1878 gives the red diagonal cross on white, now V of the International Code, for A ; the red peter with a blue edging, now W of the International Code, for B ; the yellow, now the Q of the International Code, for C ; the pilot jack for D ; the blue, white and blue vertical for E ; the white cross on red for F ; the white with black crosses for G ; the yellow with a blue ball for H ; the blue with a yellow diagonal cross for I ; the yellow on blue horizontal for K ; the blue with two white stripes for L ; the red-edged yellow pennant for M ; the yellow pennant with a blue stripe for N ; the yellow and red diagonal, the O of the International Code, for O ; the plain red pennant for P ; the white pennant with red stripe for Q ; the plain blue pennant for R ; the blue and yellow pennant, the G of the International Code, for S ; the white and red vertical pennant for T ; the yellow and black chequer, the L of the International Code, for U ; and the red pennant with white stripe for Y.

In Burney the numeral flags are the same as those given in the seventh edition of Nares published in 1897, wherein the yellow and red striped diagonal, the Y of the International Code, stands for A ; the W of the International Code for B ; the Z of the International Code for C ; the pilot jack for D ; the blue, white and blue, horizontal, the J of the International Code, for E ; the yellow and black quarterly, L of the International Code, for F ; the white, black, white, vertical, for G ; the yellow with a black ball, the I of the International Code, for H ; the blue with yellow diagonal cross for I ; the

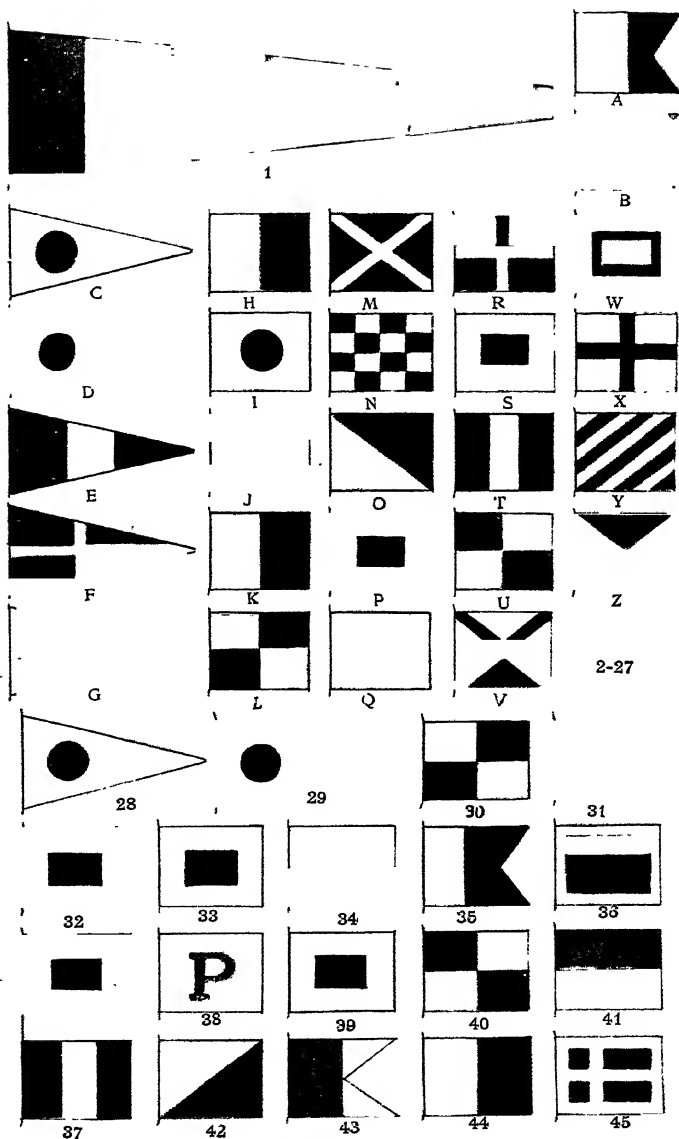
yellow pennant with red cross for J ; the yellow and blue horizontal for K ; the white with red saltire, the V of the International Code, for L ; the red pennant with red stripe for M ; the yellow pennant with blue stripe for N ; the yellow and red diagonal, that is the O of the International Code, for O ; the blue pennant with white cross for P ; the plain red pennant for Q ; the white and red pennant for R ; the blue and yellow, now the G of the International Code, for S ; the blue pennant with a white ball, now the D of the International Code, for T ; the white and blue burgee, now A of the International Code, for U ; the white peter, now the S of the International Code, for V ; the plain yellow, Q of the International Code, for W ; a black and yellow vertically striped pennant for X ; a red-edged white pennant for Y ; and the blue and white, now N of the International Code, for Z. The numeral flags are as in Burney ; the red and white quarterly, U of the International Code, standing for 1 ; the white with a blue cross, the X of the International Code, for 2 ; the yellow and blue chequer for 3 ; the blue, white and red horizontal for 4 ; the red over white horizontal for 5 ; the yellow and blue vertical, K of the International Code, for 6 ; the white and blue diagonal for 7 ; the red, white and blue, T of the International Code, for 8 ; the red peter for 9 ; and the blue peter for O.

Of these by themselves it will suffice to say that the U in this arrangement signifies that the vessel is on her speed trial, that E is the semaphore flag, and 9 the chase flag. In addition to these are a large number of pennants, of which the best known to outsiders is the red, white and blue with St. George in the hoist, familiar in every naval harbour as the church pennant. That has been the same for many years ; and another flag known to many is the St. Andrew, which stands for the medical guard ;

PLATE XXIII.

SIGNALS—INTERNATIONAL CODE—AND PILOT FLAGS.

1. Code Pennant.
- 2 to 27. Flags A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O.
P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.
28. Yes, C.
29. No, D.
30. Infection, L.
31. Powder, B.
32. Proceeding to sea, P.
33. Pilot's Call, S.
34. British pilot.
35. Speed Trial, A.
36. Russian pilot.
37. Want a pilot, P T.
38. Argentine pilot.
39. Greek pilot.
40. Brazilian pilot.
41. Norwegian Coast pilot.
42. Ecuadorian pilot.
43. Portuguese pilot.
44. Swedish pilot.
45. Danish pilot.



but for the others we will not vouch, and they must be taken as what they were worth when given; for, as a matter of fact, there are two other codes in front of the writer which are quite different. The Navy, in short, does not want its signals to be known unless they are obsolete.

Signal books in warships are always kept ready to be sunk at a moment's notice. In the library of the United Service Institution is the Signal Book of the U.S. frigate Chesapeake with the bullets attached for the purpose of sinking it. Besides the regulation signals, a second set supplied to privateers was also captured, marked "Strictly confidential. The commanders of private armed vessels are to keep this paper connected with a piece of lead or other weight, and to throw the whole overboard before they shall strike their flag, that they may be sunk." But Broke was too quick for Lawrence, and instead of going overboard it came into the possession of Sir John Barrow, who gave it to the Institution.

The Admiralty Code of 1816 was not noteworthy for any change in the method of signalling, but important for what it led to. In 1817 Captain Frederick Marryat, a brilliant naval officer and famous novelist who excelled in many other things, issued his first code, in which, with many ingenious alterations, additions and omissions, he converted the naval code of the previous year into one for mercantile purposes only, and for doing this he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and received the Legion of Honour. That code was the basis of the Board of Trade Commercial Code issued forty years afterwards, and through it of the International Code now in use throughout the world.

In Marryat's code, No. 1 was the white peter, No. 2 the present J, No. 3 the present H, No. 4 a white pointed burgee with blue cross, No. 5 the present B, No. 6 a blue,

yellow and red burgee, No. 7 the present R, No. 8 the yellow peter, No. 9 the blue and yellow quarterly; the telegraph flag being red, white and blue, and the rendezvous flag the present N, his four special pennants being the present C and D, the red with the white ball and the blue and yellow.

Before entering upon the formation of a new code for the mercantile navy, the Committee appointed for the purpose examined such published codes as had from time to time been in use in the Royal Navy and the British and foreign merchant services. The codes mentioned were by Lynn published in 1808, Squire of 1818, H.C. Phillipps (who signalled with a pennant, a flag, a cornette, a guidon, two large balls, a vane and a wheft) of 1836, Rohde of 1836, Raper of 1838, Walker of 1841, B. L. Watson of 1842, H. J. Rogers of 1854, Charles de Reynold-Chauvancy of 1855—most of them on Marryat lines—and Marryat in its latest editions, besides others more or less of a local or limited character, and a number of plans and suggestions received through official sources.

They had particularly to consider that, independently of a good system of signals for effecting communication between ships, one very important object was to provide facilities for making ships' names or numbers, for every ship has a number marked on some permanent part of her structure—in wooden ships on her main beam—by which she is registered, which is entered upon her certificate of registry, and by this she may be identified without reference to her name. These numbers amounted to upwards of 40,000 in the first year after registry became general, under the Act of 1854; and as the cancelled numbers were not to be renewed until after a lapse of five years the Committee calculated that upwards of 50,000 would be outstanding at any one time, and that

consequently that number at the least must be provided for in the new code in addition to the number required for other purposes.

The principles on which the code should be made were therefore: (1) The code should be comprehensive and clear, and not expensive. (2) It ought to provide for not less than 20,000 distinct signals, and should, besides, be capable of designating not less than 50,000 ships, with power of extension if required. (3) It should express the nature of the signal made by the combination of the signs employed, and the more important signals should be expressed by the more simple combinations. (4) A signal should not consist of more than four flags or symbols at one hoist. (5) A signal should be made complete in one hoist at one place. (6) Signals should have the same meaning wherever shown. (7) The signal book should be so arranged, either numerically or alphabetically, in classes, as to admit of the subject being readily referred to, and provision should be made for future additions. (8) The code should be so framed as to be capable of adaptation for international communication.

The code most generally used at the time on board both British and foreign ships was Marryat's, but there were also the French code by Captain Reynold, which had been translated into English, and the American code by Rogers of Baltimore, both of which had been recognized by their respective governments. These were all based on the numeral system; that is to say, the flags, as in the Admiralty Code, were numbered from 1 to 9 with a cipher flag—0—and the signals were composed of one or more flags representing by numbers the words or sentences required to be indicated, as we have already seen.

Had the number of signals been limited, this numeral

system might have been sufficient for what was required, but as it was intended to give the official numbers of the ships, which meant a range of numerals extending to 70,000, the Committee abandoned it for the following reasons. It is obvious that to represent such numbers as 22, 131, 444, 5,656, etc., with only a single set of flags, means must be devised for substituting some sign—either a flag or pennant—to represent the numeral flag already in use, of which no duplicate is carried. This can only be accomplished with one set of flags by the use of distinct signs called substitutes or repeaters, one repeating the first flag in the hoist, another the second, and another the third, if so many are necessary, an arrangement that had led to frequent mistakes. Marryat, Rogers and Reynold had evaded the use of substitutes by omitting all, or nearly all, the numbers in which the same numeral appears more than once, such as 44,313, 6,161, 8,888, etc.; and by dispensing with the aid of these auxiliaries, had greatly lessened the capacity of their codes. Thus 10 numerals with three repeaters would give 9,999 signals, but without repeaters would make only 5,860, the loss being 4,139 numbers in every 10,000 signals. By the use of distinguishing flags or pennants, however, as many different series of numbers could be obtained as there were pennants or flags, and by changing the position of these the number of series could be multiplied, this being the plan adopted by Marryat and Reynold.

They had particular flags designating certain classes of signals, such as the telegraph flag and the rendezvous flag, which signified that you were either conversing or appointing a place of meeting, and pennants were used for classifying ships according to the colour of the pennant employed. For the purpose also of increasing the numeral power of the signal book (that is of effecting

a fresh series of signals) the same pennant might be placed at the top or bottom or in the middle of the hoist, and its numeral power varied in each separate position. In all three codes five flags in a hoist were used to make high numbers; and in the latest edition of Marryat four repeating flags were used for making consecutive numbers as high as 99,999. Other means had been suggested for enlarging a code of signals by the use of distinguishing pennants shown from another mast-head, or by dividing the signal and showing part on one mast and part elsewhere, but these, like the five flags in a hoist, were in conflict with the principles already given.

“Having thus set aside the numeral system,” said the Committee, “we had to consider what other method would best meet the requirements of the code. There was only one method known to us by which the objects we had in view could be attained. It was that of taking a number of signs (or flags) sufficient for the purpose, and by their transposition effecting a certain number of permutations, each different combination of two or more of the signs so taken forming a signal distinct in itself and having a particular signification.” And they gave a table showing the permutations obtainable from ten to twenty signs, in hoists of two, three, four and five at a time. As they had ruled five out of the reckoning we need not give them, but with 10 the twos, threes and fours amounted to 90, 720, 5,040; with 11 to 110, 990, 7,920; with 12 to 132, 1,320, 11,880; with 13 to 156, 1,716, 17,160; with 14 to 182, 2,184, 24,024; with 15 to 210, 2,730, 32,760; with 16 to 240, 3,360, 43,680; with 17 to 272, 4,080, 57,120; and with 18 to 306, 4,896, 73,440, which, adding these three together, made 78,642 changes in two at a time, three at a time, and four at a time, the number of flags, 18, being only two more than were carried by vessels then using Marryat’s code.

Having decided upon the number, the Committee proceeded to the naming of these 18 flags, and they called them after the letters of the alphabet, leaving out the vowels, a matter held to be of no importance as the characters were not to be used as letters but as signs. The next point was the colouring of the flags, and considering that flags which were, and had been for many years, generally in use in merchant ships should not without very strong reasons be dispensed with, they recommended the adoption of those of Marryat's code, with slight variations, as far as they were applicable, with the addition of M, G, V and W from the naval code. Many of his flags had been already adopted for other codes, thereby proving their suitability.

The French, for example, had a set of flags in which the B, D, H, J, K, Q, S, T and W were the same as in the International Code, the C pennant having a blue ball instead of a white one, F being what is now E in the International Code, G being the present F, L being blue and white over yellow and red, M being the X of the International Code, N being white with four blue diagonal stripes, P the blue peter with a yellow centre, R a white flag with five blue spots, and V a red one with white diagonal cross. When flown complete for decorative purposes this made a most effective display, as do all sets of signal flags, the reason being that they are designed to be used together and help each other, whereas national flags are flown by themselves and spoil each other's effect when hoisted side by side.

The United States also had a code in which some of the flags were Marryat's and the same as now used by merchant vessels, these being B, M, Q and V; but C was a white pennant with a small blue rectangle in the hoist, D a blue pennant with a white rectangle, and F a red pennant with white rectangle; the G being a

blue, white and purple pennant, the H a white and red diagonal, J a blue and white diagonal, K a yellow and blue diagonal, L being blue with a yellow diagonal stripe, N blue with three white diagonal stripes, P plain blue, R red and blue with white diagonal stripe between and W white with blue diagonal stripe; the diagonals in all cases running from the upper corner of the fly to the lower corner of the hoist and being, like the rectangles that replaced the balls in C, D and F—some of which still survive—characteristic of the code.

The new code was remarkable for its comprehensiveness and distinctness. The combination of the signs expressed the nature of the signal—two flags in a signal meaning either danger or urgency—and the signals throughout were arranged in a consecutive series so that any signal, whether a word or a sentence, could readily be found. The flags and pennants were also so placed as by their position to indicate the signals made. Thus, in signals made with two signs the burgee uppermost represented attention signals, a pennant uppermost compass signals, and a square flag uppermost danger signals; and in four-flag signals the burgee uppermost represented geographical signals, a pennant uppermost vocabulary signals, and a square flag uppermost the names of ships. Further the international signals consisting of all such words and sentences as can ordinarily be required for any purpose were confined within the limit of three-flag signals, excepting only the geographical table, which, from the number of places to be indicated, it was not found possible to include within that limit.

This admirable Commercial Code became translated into many languages, and in time was generally spoken of as the International Code, a title which it is better to restrict to its successor, which came into use on January 1st, 1901. The size of its flags was in the proportion

of 6 by 8, the pennants being in that of 5 by 15. "Each," the order went, "should be distinctly marked with the letter they represent; they should be roped, with a toggle at the upper corner, and with a distance line below the flag equal to its width: the end of the distance line and each end of the signal halliards should be fitted with running eyes."

The flags are still in use in the present code without change of letter, with the exception of F—the red pennant with a white ball which now has a white cross—and L, in which the blue squares have been changed into black and given quarterly with the yellow. For communicating with merchant vessels under this code the Admiralty ordered a code to be used in which B was a red burgee with one tail instead of two; D was a white pennant with two black crosses instead of the blue pennant with a white ball; G was a yellow, blue, yellow pennant instead of yellow and blue; H was red over white horizontal instead of white and red vertical; J had two white stripes instead of one; L was red and white over white and red instead of blue and yellow over yellow and blue; M was white with a blue cross instead of St. Andrew; N was a yellow and blue chequer instead of a blue and white one; Q was white with five black crosses instead of plain yellow; R had a white cross instead of a yellow one; S was the white and blue diagonal instead of the white peter; V was white with a red border instead of a red cross; and W was the pilot jack.

For the revision of the Commercial Code the International Code of Signals Committee was appointed, and the first change suggested by them was the adoption of the whole alphabet, thus giving them twenty-six things to permutate with instead of eighteen. "Since the old code of signals was first issued," to quote from the report, "there has been a very considerable increase in

the average speed of vessels belonging to the mercantile marine, owing both to the larger percentage of steamers as compared with sailing vessels and to the greater speed to which steamers now attain. Vessels consequently remain within signalling distance of one another and of signal stations for a much shorter time than was the case forty years ago, and it is necessary that an efficient code of signals should provide the means of rapid communication. In a code in which signals are made chiefly by means of flags, rapidity of communication can best be secured by reducing to a minimum the number of flags required to make the signals, since every additional flag in a hoist involves delay in bending on the flags on the part of the person making the signals and delay in making out the flags on the part of the person taking in the signals, and to enable this to be done without the number of the signals in the code being reduced, it was necessary to provide an increased number of two and three-flag signals by adding flags to the code."

The number of signals, as we have seen, which can be made by the permutations of eighteen flags, no flag being used more than once in the same hoist and counting in the eighteen, is 78,660, but the number obtainable by the use of twenty-six flags in the same manner is 375,076; and by using the code pennant over or under one or two flags, an additional 1,320 signals can be made. In this way by the adoption of the eight other flags many of the more important signals which had to be made by three-flag hoists were converted into two-flag signals, and all the four-flag signals, excepting those representing the names of places and ships, were made into three-flag signals, while between 3,000 and 4,000 new signals with three flags were open for addition. This abolition of the four-flag hoists greatly increased the rapidity of signalling and also its accuracy, for every flag added to

a hoist affords an extra risk of mistake, both in bending on a wrong flag and in reading off the flags incorrectly ; and another advantage of the inclusion of the vowels was the possibility of spelling names and words not in the signal book.

The compilers of the old code recognized the desirability of repeating sentences containing several words under the heading of each important word which they contain, and the compilers of the new continued and extended this system in the General Vocabulary in order that a person desiring to signal a sentence may find it on referring to any of the principal words of which it is composed. In the case of a sentence such as "Want a boat ; man overboard," it is obvious that while one man may look under "want," another may look under "boat," and others under "man," or "overboard." In the interests of rapid communication the new signal book repeats the sentence under each of these four words, as it does with all other sentences. To facilitate the finding of words and sentences the arrangement is alphabetical throughout the General Vocabulary, and not only do the various words in that vocabulary, which form the headings, follow one another in alphabetical sequence, as in the old code, but the different words and phrases coming under the various headings are also arranged in alphabetical order.

In the case of words appearing in the vocabulary which have more than one distinct and generally recognized meaning, separate signals and separate paragraphs are given for each meaning, this arrangement having been mainly adopted with a view to the easy translation of the code into foreign languages ; and with the same object the plurals of nouns were omitted, so that words taken from the code were always to be understood as used in the singular unless the contrary was indicated.

Of the new flags, the A is the white and blue burgee flown in the Navy to show that the vessel is on her full-speed trial ; E is a red, white and blue pennant which also came from the Navy ; I is the flag which the Quarantine Act of 1825 requires vessels to fly when not having a clean bill of health, the black ball on the yellow, generally known as the black pill ; O is the yellow and red diagonal which makes an order optional in the Navy ; U is the red and white quarterly of the Navy ; X is the blue cross on the white ground used at Trafalgar ; Y is the diagonal stripes, yellow and red, of the Navy ; and Z is the Navy flag so often mistaken for that of the P. & O. Company.

In the old code four of the flags had a definite meaning when hoisted alone. B signified that the vessel hoisting it was loading or unloading explosives ; C was the affirmative, and D the negative, and P, the blue peter, indicated a vessel about to sail. " We have retained these meanings," said the report, " and we recommend that flag S when hoisted alone should be an international pilot signal signifying ' I want a pilot.' At present the single-flag signal to be used by British vessels requiring a pilot is the Union Jack with a white border. This flag is not suitable for international use, and there is a great diversity of practice amongst foreign countries in regard to the signal to be made by vessels wanting pilots. Some countries use their jacks with a white border as a signal for a pilot ; while other countries use their ensigns or jacks without a white border, or the blue peter, or a special flag ; and others seem to have no single-flag signal for a pilot, and use the flags P and T of the International Code, which mean ' I want a pilot.' We gather that foreign maritime powers are generally agreed as to the desirability of there being an internationally recognized single-flag signal for a pilot, and we are of

opinion that flag S (blue centre with white border) is well adapted for the purpose. We therefore recommend that the Board of Trade should obtain an Order in Council making legal the use of flag S as a signal for a pilot." Thus it came about that the two peters have definite meanings, and the old pilot signals appearing in the books are seldom seen—concerning all which it is well to note that asking for a pilot when you do not want one is a serious offence for which the penalty is £20, and if you mislead or delay a ship by wrong signals, you pay for the time and labour just as if it were a matter of salvage.

There is another series of single-flag signals in which every letter of the alphabet has a meaning. This is used between vessels when they are towing or being towed; but as the flag is held only just above the gunwale, it is not likely to be confused with one that is run up on halliards. To avoid any risk of mistake, the single flags, having a specific meaning, have the same meaning when hoisted under the code pennant, that is the red, white, red, white, red, vertical, which also serves as the answering pennant and indicates that the code is being used. The other two-flag signals, of which the pennant is one, are H signifying stop, J signifying "I have head way," and announcements of that nature, W meaning all boats are to return to the ship. Three of them, E, F, G, are the new spelling signals, E indicating that the flags hoisted after it, until G puts in the full stop, do not represent the signals in the code, but are to be understood as letters forming words, the letters being hoisted not more than four at a time; and if any letter occurs more than once in a word it must begin a new hoist; for instance, "wood" must be run up as WO in the first hoist and OD in the second. To show the completion of a word, or a dot between initials, F is hoisted, and then the next

word is spelled in detachments if necessary until the message is terminated by G.

Flags M, N, O similarly show that numerals are being signalled; M starting the signal, then four of the code flags from A to Z, all of them having a distinct value as given in a table, A to K running from 1 to 11 and the rest being useful numbers for combination, Z representing six noughts; then N for a decimal point, and then O as the full stop of that group.

In making a signal the ship hoists her ensign with the code pennant under it, the reply to which is the hoisting of the code pennant at the dip, that is about two-thirds of the way up. When this signal, showing readiness to receive, is made, the ship hauls down her pennant from under the ensign if it is wanted in the hoists she is about to make. As soon as the first hoist of the signal is up, the receiver refers to the signal book, and if he understands the signal he hoists his answering pennant close up and keeps it there until the signaller hauls the hoist down. Then he brings down the pennant to the dip and is ready for the second hoist, and so on until the ship hauls down her ensign to show that the message is at an end.

The two-flag signals, in which the pennant is not one of the flags, are all urgent and important, such as "distress," NC; "man overboard," BR; "I have Government despatches," JS; and some of them mean a good deal, such as IA, "have received the following communication from your owners," or HY, "forward my communication by telegraph and pay for transmission."

Three-flag signals beginning with A are all compass signals, ABC standing for north, AIO for south, and every degree can be signalled, thus ANL represents north 63 degrees west; or you can signal in points and half points, when AQD means north, and so round the compass until

AST means north, a half west. To signal money amounts you use a group of letters running from ASU to AVJ, in which AVB means a shilling and ATR a franc. To signal measures of length the letters run from AVK to AXF; if you want square measure you run between AXH and AXZ, in which group AXU means a square inch and AXI an acre. If you want cubic measures or capacity the range is from AYB to AZW, AYW meaning a gallon and AYD a cubic inch. If you want weight you run from AZX to BCN, wherein BAP signifies a hundred-weight and BCI a quintal. If you are dealing with decimals there is a special group extending from BCO to BDZ.

The next section is that of auxiliary phrases, to which are assigned all combinations of three letters between BEA and CWT, BEA standing for "am," or "I am," and CWT for "you-r-s," that is you, your or yours. When a three-flag signal is given composed of the code pennant over two other flags it refers to the degrees of latitude and longitude, latitude running from AB to DH, and longitude from DI to KP; or to divisions of time, KQ to LP serving for hours, LQ to NZ for minutes, and OB to QL for seconds; or to the height of the barometer in inches and millimetres, QM indicating 27·8, and TS ·98; or degrees of the thermometer, TU being for one degree and ZV for 106. When a three-flag signal is made up of the code pennant under two other flags it refers to the numeral table in which UA signifies 0 and ZY 5,000,000; for example, YN over the code flag means 5,000, and XI 83, thus making up 5,083.

Four-flag signals refer either to the Alphabetical Spelling Table, Geographical Signals, or the British Code List containing the names of British ships and certain foreign vessels to which signal letters have been allotted; or to warships, the warship code ranging from GABC

to GYZX, the British Navy running from GQAB to GYFZ, and the French Navy from GEAB to GFHZ. The Spelling Table includes all the signals between CBDF and CZYX, the signals being made on the old plan, which has been practically replaced by the new one already mentioned. By this method the word is spelled in hoists of four flags, representing two or three letters forming parts of the word required; thus CPRG means Mac, CGRQ don, and CBWP ald, which seems rather a roundabout way of spelling Macdonald.

The Geographical Signals run from ABCD, which means the Arctic Ocean, to BFAU, which stands for Jan Mayen. The letters have not been assigned indiscriminately, but are on a plan which takes them round from Cape Chelyuskin, ABCE, to Ostend, AEHM, Nieuport, AEHN, and Adin Kerke, AEHP, in Belgium; Great Britain then takes the letters from AEHQ to AFPN, which means the Galloper Light Vessel, Ireland runs from AFPO to AFXH, France from AFXJ to AGTY, and so on all round the world, the first two or three letters of the group indicating the country in which the port, or whatever it may be, is to be found; and complementary to this list is another giving the places in alphabetical order with their signal attached, concerning which it may be said with truth that if you want places you have never before heard of try this list of ten thousand.

The main portion of the book is the General Vocabulary, in which every possible message or part of a message seems to have been thought of. Opening the book in the middle—for unlike all other books it opens in the middle with the cut-in references on the outer margin right and left—you range in that one opening from Notary to Nutmeg, SJX to SLU, and there are three hundred and fifty double-column pages of this sort of thing. Let us, however, read off a signal together and get ahead faster.

IBA is the signal going up, and we turn to the book—"The cargo is not yet sold"; MIV, "Every exertion has been made"; ONS, "Make haste"; KXJ, "Your port of destination is closed; your owners desire you to proceed to"; AEHV, "London," or perhaps it may be AFMR, "Hull," or perhaps BAHJ, the other Hull in Massachusetts; and the ship that is signalling may be KJRH, that is the Oroya, or MJGD, the Ophir, the names of the ships of the mercantile marine running from HBDC onwards to WVTS, the naval vessels, as noted above, having appropriated G.

It is not always sunshine at sea, and flags when exposed to wind and rain become torn and dirty. In thick weather it is difficult to distinguish between flags which resemble one another in every way except colour, and that is why pennants, short and long, and swallow-tailed burgees, appear in almost every code. In very bright light at certain angles there is the same difficulty regarding colour, and when flags hang down in a calm, or are only seen edge on owing to the direction of the wind, it requires good sight and a good glass to make them out. Hence nearly all codes contain what are known as distant signals.

In the later editions of Marryat's code, Richardson, it would appear, got over the difficulty by what he called Geometrical Signals, which consisted of an isosceles triangle, two smaller equilateral triangles, a diamond, a rectangle and three hexagons. The hexagons were red, blue and yellow, and represented pennants; and the other shapes being in equal numbers of red and blue made up the ten numerals, the smaller triangles, always hoisted together in hour-glass fashion with a gap between, counting as one. These shapes were of canvas stitched on frames of large size, and not easy to handle in anything of a breeze.

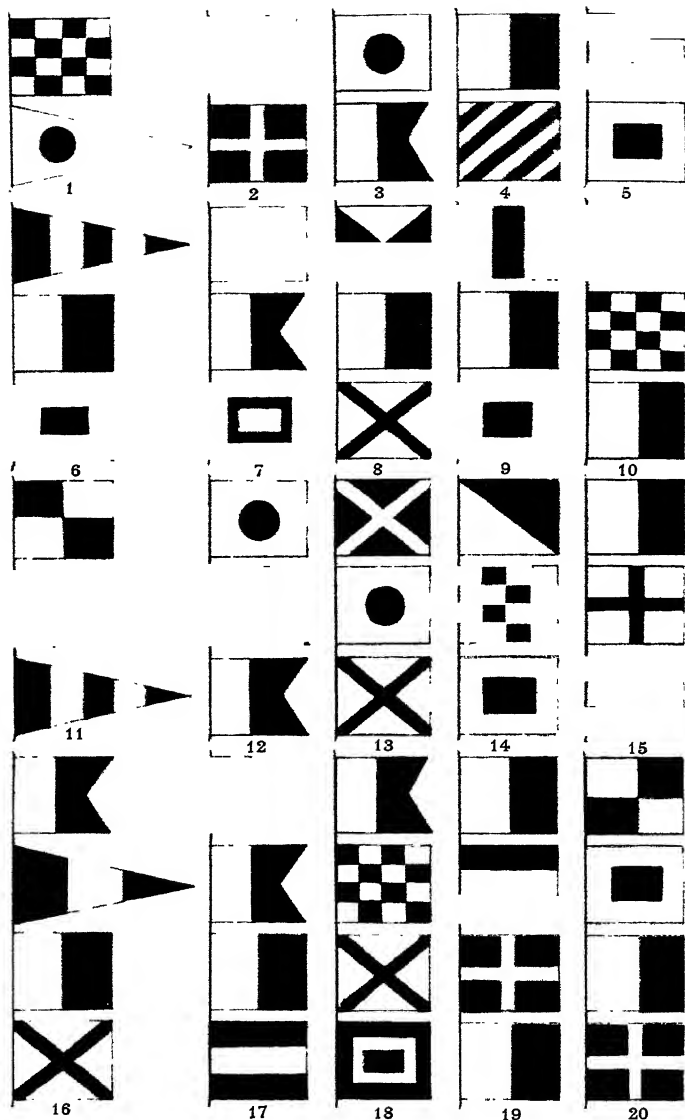


PLATE XXIV.

EXAMPLES OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNALS.

Two-letter Signals—

1. In distress, want immediate assistance, N C.
2. Man overboard, B R.
3. Have received the following communication from your owner, I A.
4. Forward my communication by telegraph and pay for transmission, H Y.
5. I have Government despatches, J S.

Three-letter Signals—

6. Longitude 180 degrees, Code pennant K P.
7. It is very kind of you, Q A W.
8. No boat fit for work, Z H V.
9. Pirate, T K P.
10. It can be done, B N K.
11. No. 1, U B Code pennant.
12. Cargo not yet sold, I B A.
13. Every exertion has been made, M I V.
14. Make haste, O N S.
15. Your port of destination is closed ; your owners desire you to proceed to, K X J.

Four-letter Signals—

16. London, A E H V.
17. Hull (Massachusetts), B A H J.
18. Annam, A N V W.
19. R.M.S. Oroya, K J R H.
20. R.M.S. Victoria, L S H R.

Nowadays the three chief methods of distant signalling for ships are (1) by cones, balls and drums, the drum being at least a third higher than the ball; (2) by balls, square flags, pennants and whefts; and (3) by the semaphore. As an instance of the first, it will be enough to say that two balls over the cone, apex upwards, means "I want a pilot"; of the second we need only say that with the permutations of two balls, two pennants and two square flags it is possible to indicate every flag in the International Code. As an example, we know that when a ship hoists a square between two balls, the signalman of the receiving ship can exclaim like the Argonauts of old—according to Planché—"By Jupiter! He has hoisted up the blue peter!"

In sailing vessels, which are almost obsolete, there is a system of masthead-signalling, also in consequence nearly obsolete, by which a long pennant, two short pennants and two square flags can be so disposed as to signal the ten numerals—the long pennant counting as 1, a square as 2, the short pennant as 3, the long pennant over a short one as 4, the long pennant over a square as 5, a square over the long pennant as 6, a short pennant over a long pennant as 7, the two squares as 8, a square over a short pennant as 9, and the two short pennants as 0; and these can be used at a fair speed by hoisting them at the mastheads, or at the main, the mizen and the peak, thus signalling three figures at once and completing every signal as with a hoist of flags.

When flags cannot be made out owing to the great distance intervening, even so far as to the ship being half down the horizon, a system of sail-signalling on the lines of that already mentioned as used by Sir Walter Raleigh is occasionally employed. In this the main royal is 1, the main topgallant-sail 2, the fore royal 3, the fore topgallant-sail 4, 5 being made by 1 and 4 to-

gether, 6 by 2 and 4, 7 by 3 and 4, 8 by 1, 3 and 4, 9 by 2, 3 and 4, and 0 by 2 and 3; and when the royals are not set the topgallant-sails and topsails are used, the yards being braced so as to show square on to the receiving ship. But this is very hard work, and practically sail-signalling has dwindled down to letting fall the main topsail as a signal to unmoor, and letting fall the fore topsail as an order to prepare for sailing, the answer to this being the blue peter, for a ship hoists that flag when she is ready for sail, and a broom when she is for sale, which is not the same thing.

Another system of flag-signalling is the Fisherman's Code, by which our trawlers and drifters communicate with the warships, flying the distinguishing pennant of the cruisers employed on fishery duty in the North Sea. In this three long rectangular flags, plain red, blue and yellow, and the red ensign suffice for the whole code, which is remarkable for meaning one thing on the cruiser and another on the boat. The complete code can be given as if a conversation were going on. The boat hoists the ensign over yellow—"I wish to report a dispute with other fishermen"; the cruiser hoists the same—"I request the skipper to come on board; I wish to speak to him." The boat hoists the ensign over blue—"I am in want of provisions"; the cruiser hoists the same—"Write your communication on a board, I cannot understand you." The boat hoists the yellow over the ensign—"I want men to help me"; the cruiser hoists the same—"I will send a boat to help you." The boat hoists yellow over blue—"I require medical assistance for a case of internal complaint"; the cruiser hoists the same—"I cannot send you a boat; I cannot help you." The boat hoists blue over the ensign—"I require medical assistance for a case of external injury"; the cruiser hoists the same—"Bring the patient here in your boat;

the ship's doctor can then examine him." The boat hoists blue over yellow—"Please send me a boat, mine cannot be used"; the cruiser hoists the same—"Keep away, I cannot manœuvre"; or, touched, as it is the fashion to say, with the fisherman's distress, as seen through the telescope, she hoists the yellow over the ensign, and the boat goes off with the doctor.

This leads us on to storm signals, generally managed with cones and drums, the idea being that a cone looks like a triangle and a drum like a rectangle, no matter how they may be blown about; but in America flags are used, a red with black centre indicating a heavy storm, yellow with white centre a light storm, the red pennant showing that the storm synclinal is coming, the white that it has passed, the red over white that the station is north of the storm centre, the flag over the pennant that the storm centre is north of the station. Forecast signals are also given by flags, white being for fine weather, blue for rain or snow, blue and white for local wet, white with black centre for cold or frost, a short black pennant below the flag indicating colder coming, and above the flag that the temperature is rising—in fact a similar code with variations to what used to be hoisted in St. Paul's Churchyard, and is now seen, in a small way, at rifle ranges.

Another form of flag-signalling in a simple way is that of our railways, who adopted the red flag to do duty by day for the red lamp at night, the green one for caution by day as the green stood for caution at night, and the white one for the safety shown by the clear light at night—both idea and lamps being copied from shipping practice. When street lighting improved and increased there were too many clear lights in the neighbourhood of a railway for a clear signal light to be picked out at a distance by the engine-men, and the lamps became green

and red—safe and unsafe, the cautionary becoming merged in the unsafe—and the flags followed suit, so that the guards carry two flags instead of three and signal the train off with a wave of the green; and from that flag-waving, and not from the standard-waving of Galon de Montigny at the Battle of Bouvines, came the flag-wagging that is now so general on land and sea.

In signalling by this method the flags used are of two sizes. The large flags are a yard square and made of muslin. They are of two colours—white with narrow blue stripe for use against a dark background, and dark blue for a light background. The staff is 5 ft. 6 in. long, and the signals made by these flags may be read with the aid of an ordinary telescope at a distance of from five to seven miles or even further in favourable circumstances. The small flags are of similar material, but only 2 ft. square with a staff 3 ft. 6 in. long, and their range of visibility does not exceed three or four miles.

The flag is held upright and the pole grasped by its end so that when in motion it moves through the greatest possible arc. The person sending the signals works the flag so that the pole points to the right or left at an angle of about twenty-five degrees from the vertical for the shorts and nearly to the ground for the longs. The signals are based upon the dot and dash method of Morse, the dot, or short stroke, taking about one second and the long stroke about three seconds. Between each wave the interval is about one second; between each letter about three; between each word about six. A succession of shorts is used to call attention to a message that is about to be sent, and a series of longs means that the message ends. G means "go on"; R is a request to move to the right, and L to shift to the left; B to use the blue flag, W to use the white one; KQ

announces that you are ready, FI that figures are coming, and FF that the figures are finished. When the receiver finds that the background behind the transmitter is not satisfactory he sends back H, meaning try higher up, or O, meaning lower down; if he does not understand the message he sends IMI, meaning please repeat; and the acknowledgment that all is clear is RT, "all right." In short, it is the same system as used in telegraphy, wireless or otherwise, and in lamp-signalling and sound-signalling, and the code is as follows:—

ALPHABET

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| A . — | J . — — — | S . . . |
| B — . . . | K — — . — | T — |
| C — . — . | L . — . . | U . . — |
| D — . . | M — — — | V . . . — |
| E . | N — . | W . — — |
| F . . — . | O — — — | X — . . — |
| G — — . | P . — — . | Y — . — — |
| H | Q — — . — | Z — — . . |
| I . . | R . — . | |

NUMERALS

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1 . — — — — | 6 — |
| 2 . . — — — | 7 — — . . . |
| 3 . . . — — | 8 — — — . . |
| 4 — | 9 — — — — . |
| 5 | 0 — — — — — |

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICAN FLAGS

AMERICA was discovered by Leif Ericson in the year 1000, and the first European flag hoisted on its mainland, so far as at present known, was the raven. George Washington's crest was a raven issuing from a coronet—and that is the only association of any item in his armorial bearings with any national flag in America.

The next flag flown on the American continent was the English ensign, the white with the red cross, hoisted there by Cabot in 1497. Columbus did not reach the mainland on his first voyage in 1492, nor on his second in 1494, but on his third in 1498, when he landed on the coast opposite Trinidad. Ponce de Leon, in search of the fountain of youth, landed in Florida in 1512, and the first Spanish flag hoisted in North America was not that with the F and Y on it, and could not be, considering that Isabella died in 1504 and consequently the Y had disappeared from it for eight years. The pretty picture in colours that appears in books as "the first flag on the American continent" is therefore—to say nothing of the flags of the Aztecs and Incas—placed there in error.

Verrazano the Florentine, in the days of Charles V, discovered the Hudson River; and the year after, 1525, Gomez surveyed it, thereby anticipating Hudson by eighty-four years, Hudson being that unfortunate

navigator who discovered nothing that was named after him. In 1534 Cartier hoisted the lilies at Gaspé Basin, thereby adding the French flag to the list of those that had floated in the breeze on the American shore; and in 1585 Raleigh sent out Sir Richard Grenville of famous memory to found the colony of Virginia, so named in honour of the virgin queen, when for the second time the national flag of England was set up in America.

Americans have great difficulty in understanding that the national flag of England up to the death of Elizabeth was the red cross on the white field, and thereafter the Union of which it forms part, and that the Union does not mean a canton, but this flag which in miniature occupies that position, there being not one canton in a rectangular flag, but four cantons—canton meaning simply a corner. The Union is not “The King’s Colour,” though every American writer seems to call it so; it is the national flag just in the same sense as the Stars and Stripes, and it is only known as the king’s colour when it is used in the line infantry of the army and when it has a crown and wreath and the number or title of the regiment on it, while in the Guards it is the regimental colour, for British regiments carry two flags just as American regiments do, in each case one of them representing the chief of the State and the other the body of men. The Union, like the St. George’s ensign, is not “the personal standard of a king or of an emperor.” The personal flag of the sovereign of the British Empire is, as already explained, the Royal Standard, in which England is represented by the three lions on the red field, and it ranges with the representation of the seal of the United States surmounted by the thirteen stars within the silver halo on a blue field, which is the personal flag of the president and really “a feudal device”—“described in the blazon”—of exactly the same character

as the three lions; and it is the American Standard and remains the same for president after president just as the Standard of England—not that of the United Kingdom—has remained the same for king after king and five different queens since the days of Richard Coeur de Lion. Having thus agreed upon our definitions, as Pascal recommends, we will proceed with our story.

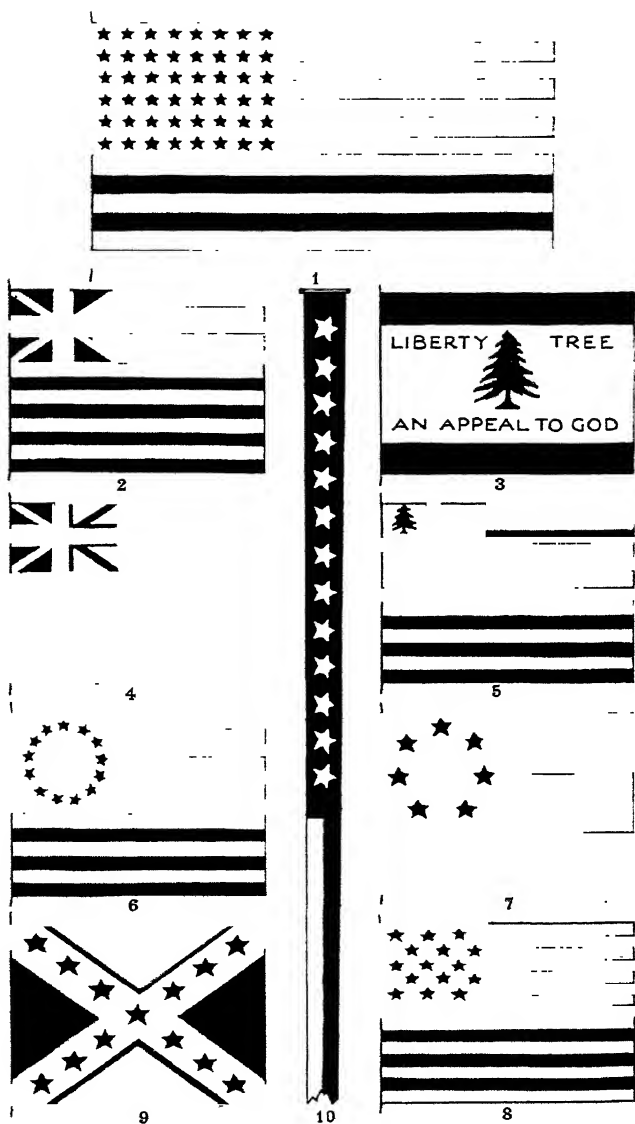
In 1607 Jamestown was founded. In 1609 Hudson arrived in the Half Moon in New York Harbour under the flag of the Dutch East India Company, orange, white and blue horizontal with the letters V. O. C. A. in the white stripe, these being the initials of Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie Amsterdam. In 1621 the letters were replaced by the monogram of the Dutch West India Company, G. W. C. (Gevetroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie), the G being on the left outer bar of the W, and the C on the right. In 1638 came another flag, the blue with the yellow cross, of the Swedes who founded New Sweden on the banks of the Delaware, which was wiped out by the Dutch in 1655, as the Dutch were in turn mastered by the British by the capture of New York in 1664.

The Pilgrim Fathers went out in the Mayflower under the Union at the main and the St. George's ensign at the fore. On Christmas Day, 1620, they landed by the rock on Plymouth beach, now in Massachusetts, and the bones of some of them are enshrined in a stately granite canopy erected over it. The flag they hoisted was the St. George, which in 1634 was declared by the men of Massachusetts to encourage the worship of saints, which it certainly did up to 1552, when the Festival of St. George was removed from the Prayer Book, and that it was a papistical symbol which some one had told them had been made the flag of England by one of the popes—a falsehood which they, and many after

PLATE XXV.

AMERICAN FLAGS—THE UNITED STATES.

1. National Flag.
2. Flag of the East India Company, known in America as the Cambridge Flag.
3. The Liberty Tree.
4. The Old Red Ensign with motto.
5. The Pine Tree and Stripes.
6. First form of the Stars and Stripes.
7. Flag of the U.S. Frigate Chesapeake
8. Confederate Stars and Bars.
9. Confederate Southern Cross.
10. Warship Pennant.



them, really believed—and they proposed that it should be replaced by something local, for instance a pine tree, this being the first venture in American heraldry. There was some reason for this, as the tree was the one under which the earlier colonists met to discuss their local affairs as they had been accustomed to do under the trees in their villages in the old country, of which trees a few remain to be pointed to with pride as the site of the village parliaments from which were developed our parish and rural councils; and it was a suggestive symbol of democracy.

In 1632 Lord Baltimore, as proprietor of Maryland, issued a shilling, a sixpence and a groat on which he put his own head and not that of the king, and a copper penny on which was his crest: very interesting coins all four, and apparently issued within his rights, but by no means approved of in court circles in England. In 1651 the Boston men, improving on Baltimore, established a mint on their own authority for coining the silver captured from the Spaniards by the Buccaneers, from which they issued in 1652 shillings, sixpences, threepences and twopences. On the obverse of the shilling was MASATHVSETS and what is described, numismatically and diplomatically for a reason we shall discover immediately, as the American pine or oak; the reverse being NEW ENGLAND AN. DOM., with 1652 in the centre and XII below it. On the obverse of the sixpence was a different tree but still a pine, the reverse being NEW ENGLAND ANO. with 1652 and VI in the centre, and the threepence and twopence had on the obverse the pine tree again. Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Acadia, after spending several of his later years in Boston, returned to London in 1673, where one day at court he found the king upbraiding Massachusetts for having coined money in disregard of his prerogative,

whereupon he showed the monarch a pine-tree shilling. "But what is this tree upon the coin?" asked the king; to whom the baronet replied, "That is the oak in which Your Majesty found shelter!" Whereupon Charles, who seemed to enjoy any allusion to his having been up a tree, remarked pleasantly, "Well, they are a parcel of honest dogs!"—and thence the judicious qualification of "a pine tree or oak" in any description of this coin.

As Charles I, on May 5th, 1634, had restricted the use of the Union flag to the Royal Navy, the national flags of the two countries were used for public departments and the merchant services; and when in 1643 the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven became the United Colonies of New England, their flag, as colonies of England, became the St. George's ensign with the royal crown and king's cypher in the centre, just as it would have been St. Andrew's ensign with a similar crowned cypher if they had been Scottish, as Nova Scotia was, the two kingdoms being under separate administrations and separate flags until May 1st, 1707. Boston, however, did not part with its pine tree for local purposes as we have seen, and, when the new century opened, many of the other colonies had begun to fly flags of their own to distinguish their vessels from one another, for a good deal of shipping had got afloat since Winthrop launched *The Blessing* of the Bay; and these were the forerunners of the State flags of the present time.

The days of the Old Dominion were nearing their end. As the colonials throve they chafed under the neglect and mal-administration of the home country, which was then as many weeks away as it is now days; but they were loyal, and would have remained so if rebellion had not been thrust upon them. They did not shrink from

bearing their share in the old country's quarrels, and in 1745 Pepperell led the New Englanders to the conquest of Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America, one of the strongest fortresses in the world, which his men held until the war was over. When on June 17th, 1745, he marched in triumph through its south gate with bugles blaring and drums beating, there were not only the Unions and ensigns from the land and the fleet, but a numerous and varied assortment of colonial flags, including the Boston one distinguished by its *Nil desperandum* Christoduce, "sanctified" and presented by George Whitefield, who had transformed by his preaching this expedition against the French into the New Englanders' Crusade.

Louisburg was not without its lessons. It taught the colonists that they could act together in a serious war, that they could beat the French, that they could stand up to the king of the old country when the time came. But Louisburg had to be taken again by Amherst and Boscowen, and Wolfe and Saunders had to take Quebec, and Amherst Montreal, with much colonial aid, and another spell of congratulation and quiet to intervene, before the many grievances did their work and discontent burst into flame at the touch of those two torches of taxation, stamps and tea.

In 1765 the Boston pine tree stood at the corner of what are now Essex and Washington Streets. That it was the same tree as the one vaunted as a superior symbol to the red cross a hundred and thirty years before is not agreed upon—probably it was not—but after Colonel Barré's impassioned speech in the House of Commons in 1765 against the Stamp Bill, in which he spoke of the behaviour of the government officials in ruling the colonists as being so bad as to cause "the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them," a phrase gratefully accepted by the Boston men as the title

of a local defence society which met beneath its shade, it became the Liberty Tree on which they hanged the effigy of Oliver the stamp distributor; and it was the first of the liberty trees of America and of the French Revolution.

The first Congress met at New York in October, 1765, and the organized opposition to the Stamp Act gained such force that in 1766 the Act was repealed. Then the bell nearest Liberty Tree was set ringing. From the tall steeple drooped countless gay banners, and from every window and housetop flaunted flags and streamers; and in the evening the town was one blaze of fire, the tree bending under the weight of lanterns and illuminated figures of the champions of repeal. The joy, however, was soon damped by the discovery that the money was to be paid in another way, by the imposition of duties upon almost every other thing, a method of taxation without representation that in the course of a few years was so evidently goading the colonists into rebellion that all the duties were taken off except that on tea. Then the colonists refused to drink tea, and it accumulated in the warehouses. Now tea was brought to America by the East India Company, and the Dartmouth and two other ships that were boarded by the Boston Tea Party in December, 1773, were East Indiamen; and the citizens of Boston who, disguised as Indians, threw overboard the chests of tea in the harbour, hauled down and carried away the flags of the ships in triumph, as did the men of New York.

With that began the war and the making of many flags. Massachusetts had its tree; New York its black beaver on a white field; South Carolina its handsome silver crescent on blue, designed by Moultrie, which was soon afterwards replaced by the very unpleasant yellow with a rattlesnake on it; Rhode Island, best of all, had the white bearing the blue anchor of hope; there is no

need to give them all, but they were so various, and so disfigured with mottoes, that none would, or could without jealousy, be adopted as a national flag. A national flag was wanted ; what was it to be ?

On December 13th, 1775, there was a dinner party at which were present Washington and Benjamin Franklin and some other leaders of the colonists. The talk turned on this question, and the conversation continued until Franklin made a suggestion. Robert Allan Campbell, of Chicago, greatly daring it would seem, has given us the very speech he made : " While the field of your flag must be new in the details of its design, it need not be entirely new in its elements. It is fortunate for us that there is already in use a flag with which the English Government is familiar, and which it has not only recognized, but also protected for more than half a century, the design of which can be readily modified, or rather extended, so as to most admirably suit our purpose. I refer to the flag of the East India Company, which is one with a field of alternate longitudinal red and white stripes and having the Cross of St. George for a union."

Now this is evidently not verbatim, for Franklin was an exact man, and he would have known that the East India Company had been in existence for more than three half-centuries, and that at the union of England and Scotland in 1707, the upper canton of the Company's flag was changed from the Cross of St. George to the union of the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. If he did not know this the facts went against him, for his proposal was received with enthusiasm, and at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on January 2nd, 1776, that is twenty days after the dinner, Washington hoisted the national flag.

" As Washington's eye," we read in Headley, " watched it undulating gracefully in the breeze, what thoughts must have filled his heart ! The symbol of liberty, it

was to move in front of his battalions to victory or defeat. In the fate of that flag was wrapped all that he hoped for or feared in life"—and so on. But the flag he had hoisted was one of the tea-ship flags, all up to date, not with the Cross of St. George, but with the Union that had come in in 1707. And that there may be no mistake about this the New York State Education Department in its Sixth Annual Report, 1910, on page 19, gives us a beautiful coloured picture of the flag, which is that of the East India Company in every thread of its bunting. "This," says the report, "was the first distinctive American flag indicating a union of the colonies. It consisted of thirteen alternate red and white stripes with the combined Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the canton. It was a peculiar flag, the thirteen stripes standing for the union of the colonies and their revolt against the mother country, and the combined crosses representing the allegiance to her which was yet partially acknowledged. It was variously designated as the Union Flag, the Grand Union Flag, and the Great Union Flag, and is now frequently referred to as the Cambridge Flag."

This was all right as a flag, but it undoubtedly had a drawback in the Union which had to be explained away; and many of the explanations did not harmonize; and, to say the least, it was rather a cool appropriation. No surprise will, therefore, be felt at some change being soon asked for. The stripes did very well, nothing could be better, but what was to replace the Union in the upper canton? The liberty tree? No; that was green on white and would not do. The flag owed nearly all its effect to the white and blue there; take away the red cross and you take away England but leave the white Cross of St. Andrew, which is that of another saint and quite as objectionable. What could

be found instead of a white cross to break up a blue background ?

Why not have white stars instead of the cross ? A substitution of star-worship for saint-worship, it is true, but that could be ignored or explained away, while scriptural allusions could be found in plenty in support of stars, as, for instance, Joseph's dream, one for each brother, and why not one for each colony ? Strictly speaking the figures adopted are not stars, for in heraldry a star has wavy rays which are six or more in number, the object with the five points formed by straight lines being the mullet (*molette*, the wheel in a spur) as in the arms of Douglas—"and in the chief three mullets stood"—as they did in the chief of those of Washington where the three red mullets are not stars but rowels red with the horse's blood ; but in ordinary parlance the term will pass, the notable thing being that at their first appearance in the flag they had six points as in the later coinage of Washington's presidency, and, as some of the flags came out with five and some with eight, an order was issued fixing the number of points at five.

On August 14th, 1777, Congress resolved "that the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, and that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." This meant that at first they were arranged in a ring like a round robin, "so that one should have no precedence over the other," but this pattern did not please and soon made way for one in which they were placed in three straight rows of four and five and four, giving room for them to be of larger size.

The thirteen States were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Vermont

joined in 1791 and Kentucky (which was part of Virginia formed into a separate state, just as Tennessee was afterwards formed out of North Carolina) in 1792. Here were, therefore, fifteen States and not thirteen, and to meet the new conditions Congress on January 15th, 1794, enacted that "from and after the 1st day of May, 1795, the flag of the United States be fifteen stripes and the union be fifteen stars." Of these fifteen stars we have an example in the flag of the Chesapeake captured on June 1st, 1813, now in the United Service Museum, the stars being arranged in five rows of three each, those of the second and fourth rows being below the intervals between the others.

There was little difficulty in dealing with an increase among the stars, though every additional star weakened the artistic effect, but by 1818, when five other States had been brought in, and the future had others in store, it became evident that the original idea of a stripe for each State would simply ruin the appearance of the flag by making it look like a piece of shirting; and on April 4th of that year Congress enacted that the stripes should be reduced permanently to the old East India number of thirteen, and that the union should then have twenty stars, and that a star should be added for each new State admitted. The new flag was first flown on the House of Representatives on April 13th, 1818, and, incredible as it may seem, the authorities had actually arranged the twenty stars in the form of a large five-pointed star like a design in oil lamps for an illumination, producing an effect so wanting in dignity that, like the round robin of the first flag, it had to be speedily abandoned and the stars placed in rows.

That is the plan of the Stars and Stripes, the new star being added on the 4th of July after the entry

of a State into the Union. The result is the crowded look of the canton in which some modification will probably be made in the future, though it will not be a popular move to stop the spangling of the banner.

No flag has received more attention from the orator and romancer, the meanings read into it far exceeding those read into any biblical text; and many verse-writers have been busy, but producing nothing worthy of their theme; even "The Star-Spangled Banner," sung to its original tune, a piece of music—"Anacreon in Heaven"—composed for the flute, is anything but a masterpiece. A quotation is, however, inevitable, and this will suffice—

"When Freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of Night
And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
The milky baldrick of the skies,
And striped its pure celestial white
With streakings of the morning light:
Then from his mansion in the sun
She called her eagle-bearer down
And gave into his mighty hand
The symbol of her chosen land."

Another poet, or rather poetess, better acquainted perhaps with its history, has written with more of the true ring—

"Flag of the fearless-hearted,
Flag of the broken chain,
Flag in a day-dawn started
Never to pale or wane,
Dearly we prize its colours
With the heaven light breaking through,
The clustered stars and the steadfast bars,
The red, the white, and the blue."

At Colram, on Catamount Hill, in Massachusetts there stands what looks like a tombstone on which is inscribed : "The first U.S. Flag raised over a Public School was floated in May, 1812, from a log school house which stood on this spot." The United States Government does all it can to ensure respect for its flag among its own people at the very outset, and there is now a flag at every school house ; and what are known as flag lessons are given and flag games played. Instructions are even issued by the different State authorities in making the flag, from which it appears that the favourite size is 9ft. 9in. by 6ft. 6in., the union being 3ft. 9in. by 3ft. 6in., the stripes being 6 in. wide ; the five-pointed stars are made in 4-in. circles, being the points of a pentagon described within the circle, for the drawing of which are the geometrical directions. The stars, it may be noted, are not let into the flag, but are sewn on to the blue, back to back, so that the fabric where they are placed is three layers thick ; and the school flag has no toggle, but two holes with brass-rimmed grommets for the halliards.

In the army every regiment has its pair of colours, one with the eagle and the coat of arms, blue for infantry, red for artillery and yellow for cavalry, and a national flag—about 5ft. 6in. by 4ft. 4in. in the foot regiments, and 4ft. by 3ft. in the mounted ones—on the stripes of which is placed the honour-roll as on the British regimental colour. In the militia regiments, which also carry a pair, the president's colour, as we should call it, is replaced by that of their State.

In their eagle the fathers of the Republic made an unfortunate choice. They wanted something classical, and this hankering after the Romans led them to call their second chamber a Senate and made them ask for an eagle ; but the Roman eagle was a golden eagle,

and not until the nineteenth century was a golden eagle shot in America, when, as usual, the American naturalists endeavoured to claim it as a distinct species. Had it been shot in 1775 or thereabouts the republicans would have been saved the absurdity of their unworthy emblem, for they took the only eagle they saw without inquiring into its character. The two birds may be distinguished at a glance: the golden eagle is feathered down to the toes, while the sea eagle's legs are feathered only half-way down; in short, so to say, one wears trousers and the other wears knickerbockers. Of the eagle selected, it will be well to let an American authority speak, and there is none better than Elliott Coues, in whose *Key to North American Birds* is the following description:—" *Bald Eagle*, Tarsus naked. Dark brown; head and tail white after the third year; before this, these parts like the rest of the plumage. About the size of the last species (the Golden Eagle). Immature birds average larger than the adults; the famous Bird of Washington is a case in point. North America, common; piscivorous; a piratical parasite of the osprey; otherwise notorious as the emblem of the Republic. *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*."

This eagle has always been associated with the presidential flag, for, as mentioned earlier, the United States have had two flags ever since they had a president. In addition to these two are the flags of the several States which are oftener seen than our county flags—to compare great things with small—but are used in much the same way, public buildings flying the national and state flags, each on a staff of the same height, during the sessions of the legislature and on other public occasions.

Some of these flags we have referred to, the others are not unlike the badges of the British colonies, being

very varied in heraldic merit. We will content ourselves with that of New York State as an example; and, that there may be no mistake, we will reprint its "official blazon."

"Charge. Azure, in a landscape, the sun in fess, rising in splendor or, behind a range of three mountains, the middle one the highest; in base a ship and sloop under sail, passing and about to meet on a river, bordered below by a grassy shore fringed with shrubs, all proper.

"Crest. On a wreath azure and or, an American eagle proper, rising to the dexter from a two-thirds of a globe terrestrial, showing the north Atlantic ocean with outlines of its shores.

"Supporters. On a quasi compartment formed by the extension of the scroll.

"Dexter. The figure of Liberty proper, her hair disheveled and decorated with pearls, vested azure, sandaled gules, about the waist a cincture or fringed gules, a mantle of the last depending from the shoulders behind to the feet, in the dexter hand a staff ensigned with a Phrygian cap or, the sinister arm embowed, the hand supporting the shield at the dexter chief point, a royal crown by her sinister foot dejected.

"Sinister. The figure of Justice proper, her hair disheveled and decorated with pearls, vested or, about the waist a cincture azure, fringed gules, sandaled and mantled as Liberty, bound about the eyes with a fillet proper, in the dexter hand a straight sword hilted or, erect, resting on the sinister chief point of the shield, the sinister arm embowed, holding before her, her scales proper.

"Motto. On a scroll below the shield argent, in sable, Excelsior.

"State flag. The State flag is hereby declared to be

blue, charged with the arms of the state in the colors as described in the blazon of this section."

In 1860, when the eleven southern States seceded from the Union, they proclaimed the resumption of their independence under their own flags and then formed the Confederation; and when it became necessary, as it almost immediately did, to adopt one flag for the Confederate States, a special committee was appointed to consider the matter. On presenting their report, the chairman of this committee said: "A flag should be simple, readily made, and capable of being made up in bunting; it should be different from the flag of any other country, place or people: it should be significant: it should be readily distinguishable at a distance: the colours should be well contrasted and durable: and lastly, and not the least important point, it should be effective and handsome. The committee humbly think that the flag which they submit combines these requirements. It is very easy to make; it is entirely different from any other national flag. The three colours of which it is composed—red, white, and blue—are the true republican colours; they are emblematic of the three great virtues—valour, purity, and truth. Naval men assure us that it can be recognized at a great distance. The colours contrast admirably, and are lasting. In effect and appearance it must speak for itself."

This was not quite so original as the speech might lead us to expect, for it was the Stars and Bars, red, white, red, horizontal, with a large blue canton on which there was a circle of white stars. But the round robin arrangement adopted in the old idea of all States alike, as if they each had a particular star, failed again; and the battle flag known as the Southern Cross appeared, this Southern Cross being no copy of the constellation, but a blue St. Andrew edged with white on a red field with stars along

the arms. The difficulty with this flag was to arrange the eleven stars in a satisfactory way, and in the most successful version this was evaded by boldly inserting thirteen in the hope that two other States would come along. Another objection was raised that—like the Cross of St. George—it could not be used as a signal of distress as there was no upside or downside to it, and to satisfy the pessimistic gentlemen who were looking so far ahead it was used as the union in a white flag which was decried as being too much like a flag of truce: and before any other pattern could be generally accepted the cause collapsed, after that heroic struggle in which North and South together lost over 600,000 killed.

In the capital at Albany are kept the battle flags of the New York regiments. They are not hung or draped, but—like the banner of Mohammed, which is wrapped in four coverings of green taffeta and enclosed in a case of green cloth—are carefully preserved in locked and sealed cases with glass fronts as nearly air-tight as practicable, each flag in its own case with a card attached giving the name and engagements of the regiment. This is better than letting them waste away till only the bare poles remain, but as a display it would not evoke another stanza like that of Moses Owen's—

“Nothing but flags—but simply flags
Tattered and torn and hanging in rags;
Some walk by them with careless tread,
Nor think of the hosts of patriot dead
That have marched beneath them in days gone by
With a burning cheek and a kindling eye,
And have bathed their folds with their life's young tide,
And, dying, blessed them, and, blessing, died,”

—which is in the best flag poem that America has produced.

The American jack is the union. The Secretary of

the Navy has a blue flag with a white star in each corner and a foul anchor in the centre. An admiral has four white stars on blue as if at the ends of an upright cross ; a vice-admiral has three stars in the form of a triangle apex upwards ; a rear-admiral has two, one above the other, in the middle of the blue flag. The Revenue Cutter Service flag has red and white bars vertical, sixteen of them, with a red one at the hoist ; in the fly is a black anchor badge with the date, 1790, and in the canton is a black eagle beneath a curve of thirteen black stars.

The naval militia flags are known by the yellow in them, the distinguishing flag being blue with a yellow diamond on which is a blue anchor, the commodore's pennant being blue over yellow with a white star in the blue. The signal flags have already been referred to, a familiar one not mentioned being the church pennant which is white with a blue cross. The consular flag is blue with a white C in a circle of thirteen stars. The naval convoy flag is a white triangle edged with red. The army flags are red ; the rank of general does not exist, but lieutenant-generals have three white stars in a row, major-generals two, and brigadiers one. The garrison flag, the largest flown, measures 36ft. by 20 ft., and in it the union occupies a third of the length and reaches to the fourth red stripe from the top.

Among the yacht clubs the most noteworthy burgees are those of the New York, blue with a red cross and central white star ; the Eastern, blue with a red diagonal stripe and central white star ; the Atlantic, white, edged with red, the red edges united by a red chevron vertical ; the Knickerbocker, red with a white cross and central white star ; and the San Francisco, with two red triangles in the hoist, a white one between, and blue in the fly, the blue bearing a central white star and the white a red

star. There are many other club flags of many kinds, more perhaps than with us, and other flags which must here go unmentioned.

Columbus on his first voyage made his first landing on Guanahani, afterwards called Watling Island and now bearing the name he gave it, San Salvador; the flag he hoisted, the F and Y, having given place to the British with the ship-badge of the Bahamas. Thence he went on to Cuba which, after many changes, is now under a blue, white, blue, white, blue, striped flag with a red triangle based on the hoist containing a large white star, the stripes being horizontal and the colour of the three being a pale blue.

From the eastern point of Cuba he returned west to what he named Hispaniola—that is Little Spain—but the natives called Hayti, the name now borne by the western part of the island, while the eastern, and larger, part is the Dominican Republic. Hayti fell under the domination of the French buccaneers and was ceded to France by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the real beginning of the break-up of Spanish America. Then it was that the lilies replaced the gold and scarlet bars, and there they remained until the French Revolution brought about a conflict between them and the tricolour that eventually ended in the disappearance of both, the rise of a negro republic, and the hoisting of the present flag of blue over red.

The Dominican Republic has a very handsome flag, red and blue quarterly divided by a broad white cross. In both cases the ensign consists of the mercantile flag with a badge; and the contrast is amusing. That of Hayti is a terribly warlike affair with a couple of field cannon pointing right and left, a drum in front of a palm tree having upright fixed bayonets at equal intervals, three on one side and three on the other; while that of

the Dominicans has evidently been taken from the price list of a monumental mason and consists of the familiar open Bible at the foot of the usual cemetery cross, both almost lost amid red on red, and blue on blue, and white on white of the draped flags and shield.

Mexico has had many flags, home and foreign, but the green, white and red tricolour it flies now was simply taken from the Italians because it looked pretty, and the meaning for it found afterwards. Italy protested unavailingly; but as Mexico declined to change, she placed the shield of Savoy without the crown in the white stripe of the Italian merchant flag, the shield with a crown having already been used in the ensign; and to this the Mexicans replied by placing on their warship flag the eagle and snake, the eagle standing on a prickly pear. Thus the Mexican merchant flag is the Italian flag without the Savoy shield.

The Spanish dominion ended in Mexico with the surrender of the capital by O'Donoju—which is the Spanish way of rendering the pronunciation of O'Donohue—and the same year Guatemala obtained its freedom as shown by the scroll on its badge, “Libertad, 15 de Setiembre, 1821,” the scroll being in front of crossed swords and rifles and surmounted, not by a parrot as often stated, but by a quezal. The quezal (*Paromacrus mocinno*) is a trogon and one of the most beautiful of birds, and its plumage never fades in life or death. There is a stuffed example in the Natural History Museum which has been exposed to the light since some twenty years after the declaration of Guatemalan independence, and it is almost as brilliant as when first mounted, the deep, rich red of the breast still showing up boldly against the bright metallic green extending down to the tips of the upper tail coverts which are more than three times as long as the body. The ensign was red and blue horizontal,

over white, with yellow and blue below ; then it appeared with six stripes, blue, white, red, yellow, red, white, blue ; now it is pale blue, white, pale blue, vertical, with the badge in the middle stripe ; the merchant flag being without the badge.

Guatemala when it hauled down the Spanish flag was much larger than now, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica having split off from it in 1839. Honduras—not British Honduras, which dates from 1638—has dark blue, white, dark blue, horizontal, the merchant flag with five yellow stars on the white arranged 2, 1, 2 ; but the ensign has the stars on the lower blue stripe, and on the white an elaborate badge, a landscape with cottages and trees and two cornucopias pouring a wealth of flowers over an oval label inscribed “ *Repca de Honduras libre soberana independiente,*” and the date as on the badge of Guatemala.

Salvador flies alternate white and dark blue stripes, six blue and five white, horizontal, with a red canton in which are fourteen white stars, arranged 5, 4, 5, directly over each other, the middle row having one missing, fled like a lost Pleiad from the hoist. This is the merchant flag, but the ensign has a badge in the canton in which a volcano (Izalco) is in eruption by a woolly sea with the sun like the section of an orange rising into an ellipse of twelve silver stars ; and again the 1821 date, and also the cornucopias ; but this time they are on the top of the shield and are pouring forth fruits and not flowers.

Nicaragua hoists the pale blue, white, pale blue, horizontal, never with the white plain but with a blue anchor in the merchant flag, and in the ensign the national badge of a wreath enclosing a triangle and crossed cannons backed by flags and weapons old and new, the triangle bearing five volcanoes in a lake or out at sea with a liberty cap on the middle one and the sun behind the

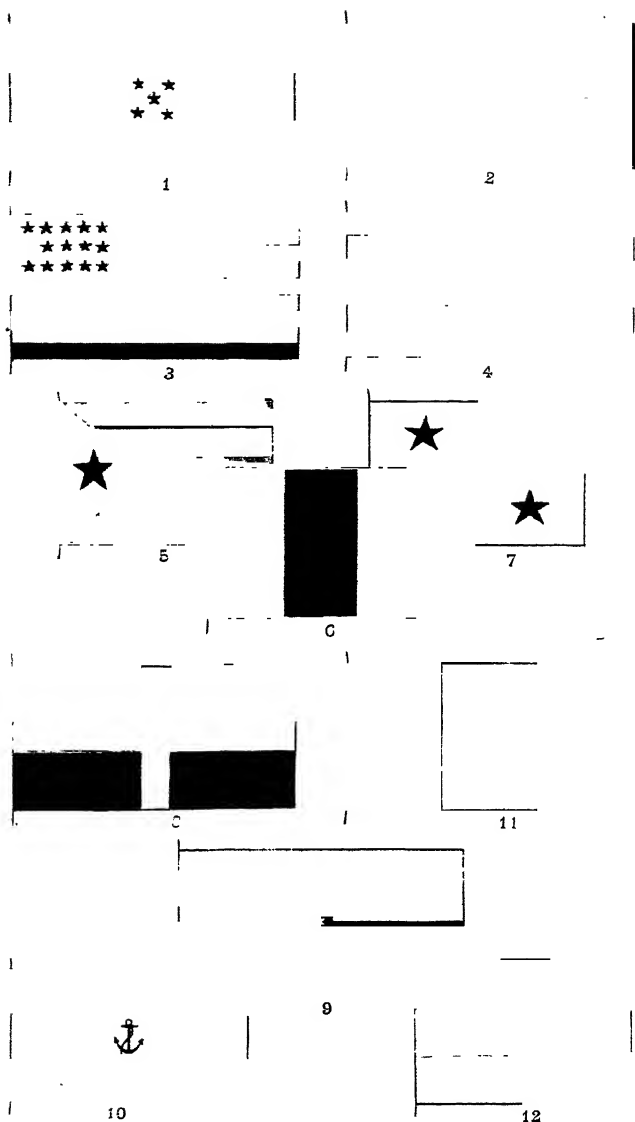


PLATE XXVI.

AMERICAN FLAGS—CENTRAL AMERICA.

1. Honduras.
2. Hayti.
3. Salvador.
4. Costa Rica.
5. Cuba.
6. Mexico.
7. Panama.
8. Dominican Republic.
9. Colombia.
10. Nicaragua.
11. Guatemala.
12. Guatemala, 1851.

first and second, a rainbow filling in the sky at the upper angle; the only lettering on it being "Republica de Nicaragua." Costa Rica is known by its five horizontal stripes, of which the middle one is red and double the width of the others, which are blue over white above it and white over blue below it. This is the merchant flag and a good one, but the ensign has one of the wonderful American badges, this being five stars above three volcanoes in a row in the sea, with a vessel behind and a vessel in front, and the sun half-way up over the horizon, his eyes evidently peeping in surprise at what he has never seen before. Panama has but one flag and that simple and commendable, white and red over blue and white, quarterly, with a blue star in the first quarter and a red star in the fourth.

South America begins with Colombia, formerly New Granada. Its flag has the upper half yellow, the lower half being equally divided into blue over red; and the blue, it should be noted, is dark blue. In the merchant flag there is a white star on a blue field within a red oval frame in the centre, half in the yellow, half in the blue; in the ensign this is replaced by an oval badge of an eagle hauling up a laurel rope from behind a shield on which the most prominent object is a red liberty cap on a fess above two ships, apparently in different oceans with a lake between, and the land sloping to almost nothing as if to intimate that it would not take much to cut a canal, which probably refers to the old Darien days.

The flag of Venezuela is also yellow, blue, red, horizontal, but the stripes are of equal width, and in the centre of the blue are seven stars in a circle, the ensign being distinguished from the merchant flag by the badge in the hoist which is instantly known by the white galloping horse on the blue field, above it being a yellow field

with a sheaf of corn in one quarter and a red field with two draped flags and two sword hilts in the other. The Ecuador flag is much the same as that of Venezuela, but the blue stripe is pale and not dark, and there is no badge on the merchant flag. The warship flag bears the national badge of the condor of the Andes rising over an oval within which are a snow-capped mountain, a steamer in the sea at its foot, and the sun in the zodiac in the sky. Ecuador's admirals are distinguished by stars in the United States fashion, the flag being pale blue ; the fleet is not numerous.

Peru in its long history has had troublous times and many flags, the latest being the red, white, red, vertical, for its ensign, which, with a badge in the white, is the presidential standard. These are both double as long as they are wide, but the merchant flag is worth notice as being the ensign in a square form ; and square flags are now uncommon. The badge is a shield above a sprig of palm and a sprig of bay ; and over the shield is an oval laurel wreath. The shield bears a guanaco and a tree over a horizontal cornucopia, but the laurel wreath is the distinguishing feature. The jack is a square flag with a square white centre which may be described as a red peter ; and the admirals hoist a square national flag with yellow suns on the white, a vice-admiral having two suns.

Bolivia was formerly Upper Peru and took its name from Bolivar in 1825. Like Peru, it has had a troubled history, and it is now without a coast-line of its own. There is no mistaking its badge at close quarters, for it bears the country's name on a gold oval with nine gold stars on a blue scroll round the base. Here, again, is a landscape with a golden sun shining over a conical mountain, a tree, a cornsheaf, and a guanaco ; peeping from behind the oval are crossed cannons below and four

bayonets above with a liberty cap and a licitor's fasces, and over these is a condor alighting; as a background are three draped national flags on each side, remarkable for the fact that each flag is on a pike above, making six pikes, while only four pikes appear below. This mystery of the missing pikes distinguishes Bolivia, the ensign of which is red, yellow, green, horizontal, with the badge in the yellow.

Chile is fortunate in its handsome flag, white over red with a blue canton bearing a white five-pointed star distinctive at a glance in any crowd of bunting. The badge on the president's flag has the white star on a field of blue and red, the red being lost on the red of the flag. The shield is surmounted by what may be mistaken for the Prince of Wales's plume in red, white and blue, but the feathers are not those of the ostrich but of the rhea, the representative of the flightless birds in South America. The badge does not improve the flag. The ministers of state have a blue flag with a red cross that is edged with white, a star being in the upper canton; the minister of marine hoists plain blue on which is a white horizontal anchor; the director-general of the navy has the blue with a star in each corner, and the vice-admirals and rear-admirals have stars exactly like those of the United States, the flags being longer. The jack is the white star on a blue field. The generals and governors are distinguished by a red flag with a white cross, the upper canton being blue and having the star; and the consular flag is of the same design, but in shape like a yacht's burgee. Chile was under the Spanish flag until 1810, when it gained its independence under Bernardo O'Higgins, the son of one of the viceroys of Peru.

The Argentine Republic, taking its name as a synonym from the silver river, that is the Plate (La Plata), began its struggle for independence at the same time as Chile.

It is the land of the light blue ; in fact Chile and the Argentine may be described in a flag sense as the Oxford and Cambridge of South America. The ensign is blue, white, blue, horizontal, with a golden sun in the centre of the white ; and the jack is a pale blue peter with the sun in the middle. In the badge the wreath, unlike all other wreaths, is continued across the sun's face ; beneath the sun being an oval in which two clasped hands hold a stick on which is a flag of liberty. The minister of the navy has the sun in front of an upright anchor within a white frame, and the flag of a full admiral is blue with three white stars diagonally, the other admirals having blue and white vertical with one or two stars ; in fact, like those of Portugal, the only difference being that in the two-star flag—that of the vice-admiral—one star is immediately under the other.

Uruguay, the old Banda Oriental, was Spanish and Portuguese by turns and broke off from Brazil in 1828. Its flag is striped blue and white, the blue being intermediate in tint between the blues of Chile and the Argentine. There are nine stripes, of which five are white, and in a white canton is a yellow sun with its rays trimmed into the shape of a garter star. When this flag is flown at the main it is the president's, when flown at the fore it distinguishes the ministers and secretaries of state, when at the peak it is the national flag ; and when the vessel does not happen to be of suitable rig to afford these positions, the president and ministers are all under the national flag hoisted on the ensign-staff in the stern. The jack is practically the Russian ensign with a sun in the centre.

Paraguay—the land of Dr. Francia—is an inland state which has annexed the Dutch flag without permission, and pleads that it really does not matter as the country is so many miles from the sea that its ensign

PLATE XXVII.

AMERICAN FLAGS—SOUTH AMERICA.

1. Brazil, Ensign.
2. Brazil, Admiral's Flag.
3. Chile, Ensign.
4. Chile, Jack.
5. Argentina, Ensign.
6. Argentina, Jack.
7. Peru.
8. Bolivia.
9. Uruguay.
10. Paraguay.
11. Venezuela.



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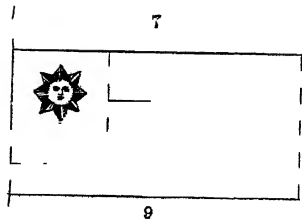
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11

is seldom seen upon it, and that to avoid mistakes it has placed a badge in the centre of the white stripe that is not like that of the Netherlands; and, moreover, to make assurance doubly sure, it has placed another badge on the back of that. No other flag has this peculiar arrangement. The badges on the ensign are oval; that on the front of the flag is a laurel wreath with a star at the top, the wreath enclosing a lion cleverly balancing on his back an upright stick on which is a liberty cap to keep it steady, while *Paz y Justicia* is lettered around him. This is sewn on to the flag; and sewn on the other side of the flag, so as to make three thicknesses, is an oval of the same size bearing a laurel wreath within which is a yellow star, *Republica del Paraguay* appearing outside the wreath, but within the white oval. The merchant flag instead of this very sensible badge sports the performing lion doing a second turn with the stick and a ball in place of the cap; and to give more space for both legends the device is circular. Where the lion came from is a subject of contention; as it is the only one adrift in South America it has been suggested that it escaped from a menagerie, and hence the balancing trick. As a further means of distinguishing the Paraguayan flag from the Dutch, the circular badge is placed near the staff.

Brazil may be looked upon as Portuguese South America. The Spanish flag was, it is true, hoisted by Pinzon at Cape St. Augustine in January, 1500, but Cabral had the Portuguese up at Porto Seguro in the following April, and his *Terra da Vera Cruz*, then so named, was the real beginning of Brazil. The Spanish flags were the red stripes on the gold in the old form; the Portuguese were the white shield with the five blue shields bordered with red and the castles thereon and the five black balls on blue also bordered with red. Then

Portugal was captured by Spain, and the Spanish flag went up; and the Dutch arrived at Bahia and hoisted their tricolour, which at different places on the coast remained for twenty years until Portugal, emancipated from Spain, resumed possession of her American colonies. These in 1808 became the refuge of the Portuguese king, whose eldest son threw off the parental yoke in 1822; and they became an empire with a flag of its own, which in 1889 was replaced by that of the republic. In the imperial days the flag was green with a yellow diamond as now and a shield flanked with sprigs of coffee and tobacco. Crown, shield and sprigs have gone, and in their place is a blue celestial globe, once an armillary sphere, with a white equator on which is written "*Ordem e progresso*," the globe sprinkled with stars in a free and easy rendering of a constellation.

The Brazilian badge is the Southern Cross, yet again, in the centre of a red-edged five-pointed star of yellow and green; the cross, on blue, begirt by twenty stars in its complete form as borne by the president in his standard which is green, and besides the badge displays the date "*15 de Novembro de 1889*." The minister of marine's flag is pale blue divided into quarters by a cross of twenty-one stars, five in each arm and one in the centre, and with a simple version of the badge in the upper canton; and the admiralty flag is similar but bolder with crossed white anchors in the quarter below the badge. In the admiral's flag the badge is in black and white with a star right and left below it; in the vice-admiral's the badge is replaced by a star, and the rear-admiral's has only two stars in the upper canton.

The capital is Rio Janeiro, the scene of a little known enterprise of colonization. There, upon the island of Villegagnon, the Huguenots founded a settlement in 1555 which the Portuguese destroyed in 1567, when Rio

is generally said to have been founded. But surely these early settlers should not be forgotten, as it was their example that led to the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers. They left their country for conscience' sake to find a home in the New World, and they hoisted the white flag of the French protestants at Rio sixty-five years before the men of the Mayflower hoisted their St. George at Plymouth Rock.

CHAPTER IX

FLAGS OF AFRICA AND ASIA

LIBERIA is a republic with which few but Liberians are pleased. It was the first colony of the United States, and an interesting experiment in the colonization of Africa by Africans, being a selection of freed slaves planted there by the American Colonising Society in 1821 in the hope that by their example the natives would be impressed and improved; but unfortunately the varnish of civilization was too thin and the impression was made not on the natives but on the colonists who found the local influences too strong. The flag frankly declares its origin, but it has eleven red and white stripes instead of thirteen, and its upper canton, instead of being spangled with stars, is the same as that of Chile, blue with one white star. In 1847 it became an independent republic, that is to say the Americans had had enough of it and left it to itself, and in 1857 it absorbed the African Maryland, which had also been started as a colony in 1821 and became a republic in a similar way in 1854, so that the Maryland flag was only visible for three years.

† Northern Africa, from Egypt to Morocco, was under Turkish influence for so long that its flags are almost all more or less Turkish in character, the crescent with or without the star, but never a star without a crescent, being flown indiscriminately all along with an occasional

short-lived variant in red and green, among them being the red khedivial standard, now the flag of Egypt, with crescent and star repeated three times.

Tunis is known by a wonderful standard of yellow and red stripes, horizontal, thirteen in all, a broad green one in the middle with six in a group over it and six under it, the upper stripes being yellow and red and the lower lot red and yellow. These are not plain stripes, for every yellow one has five black and red crescents and four red mullets alternately, and every red one has four green crescents and five white mullets, all the mullets having the central perforation which marks them definitely as rowels and not stars; this being the sultan's flag, the ensign being a red crescent and star within a white circle. Tunis is now under the French tricolour just as Tripoli is under the Italian, and the Congo under the Belgian, though its pale blue flag with the golden star is still to be seen.

The best known flag on the coast used to be that of Morocco, the red with the white scissors, which so-called scissors were crossed yataghans; but what is left of independent Morocco is now, like most of independent Africa, under the plain red flag, though other plain colours are used all over the dark continent, including black by the Dervishes, of which there are examples in the Banner of the Devil and the Omdurman banner of the Khalifa in the United Service Museum, where are also to be seen the umbrellas of Koffee and Prempeh which did duty as royal standards in Ashanti.

When the Orange River Colony was independent its flag was three horizontal orange stripes with two white ones between and a Dutch tricolour in the upper canton, the Free Staters thereby being more fortunate than the Boers of the Transvaal who, after much deliberation, chose as their national flag a Scottish St. Andrew with

St. Patrick over it, thus forecasting their country's destiny when St. George was to be placed on top to cause a counterchange and complete the picture. As on the west coast, so on the east, the flags are all European except when they are plain red, and this plain red is with us all the way up to Akaba where Egypt—and Africa—end, and we are again in the land of the crescent.

The crescent is more a symbol of Constantinople than of the Turks, and it dates from the days of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. When so the legend runs, that enterprising monarch besieged Byzantium in 339 B.C. he met with repulse after repulse and tried as a last resource to undermine the walls; but the crescent moon shone out so gloriously that the attempt was discovered and the city saved. And thereupon the Byzantines adopted the crescent as their badge, and Diana, whose emblem it was, as their patroness. When the Roman emperors came, the crescent was not displaced, and it continued to be the city badge under the Christian emperors. In 1453, when Mohammed the Second took Constantinople, it was still to the fore, and being in want of something to vary the monotony of the plain red flag under which he had led his men to victory, he, with great discrimination, availed himself of the old Byzantine badge, explaining that it meant Constantinople on a field of blood. That is story number one; but there is another.

The Sultan Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, a hundred and fifty years before the city fell, had a dream in which he saw a crescent moon growing larger and larger until it reached from the furthest east to the furthest west. This led him to adopt the symbol which had been that of the Janissaries for at least half a century previously and also designated Constantinople. Which-ever story we accept—and we can do that with both of



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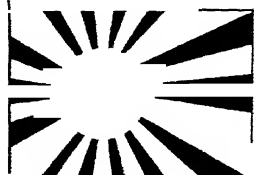


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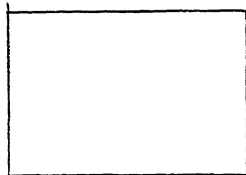


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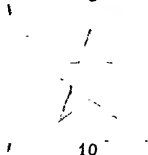
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PLATE XXVIII.
FLAGS OF AFRICA AND ASIA.

1. Siam.
2. Liberia.
3. Persia.
4. China.
5. Japan, Standard.
6. Japan, Ensign.
7. Japan, Jack.
8. Japan, Mail.
9. Korea.
10. Congo.
11. Egypt.
12. Turkey.

them if we please—it is clear enough where the crescent came from. Even now in Moscow and other Russian cities the crescent and the cross may be seen combined on the churches denoting the Byzantine origin of the Eastern rite.

Where the star came from is not so clear. A star within a crescent was a badge of Richard I more than two hundred and fifty years before Constantinople fell, which implies that the crescent was adopted by the Saracens if, as we are told, the device was emblematic of the crusades and the star stood for the star of Bethlehem. In his badge Richard placed the crescent on its back and the star above it; but when Mohammedanism became triumphant the Turks took the star and placed it with the upright crescent where the dark area of the moon should be, from which on some flags it has emerged. Others tell us it is the star of piercing brightness, the morning star, Al Târek, the star which appeareth by the night of the eighty-sixth chapter of the Korân, but why or wherefore is not stated, and no date is given in either case.

The personal flag of the sultan, that is the royal standard, displays the tughra consisting of the sultan's name, the title khan, and the epithet "El muzaffar daima," that is the ever victorious. When Murad, otherwise Amurath, who ascended the throne in 1362, entered into a treaty of peace with the Ragusans, he was not sufficiently scholarly to write his name, so he dipped his open hand in what must have been a somewhat capacious inkpot and pressed it on the document, the first, second and third fingers making smears in fairly close proximity, while the thumb and little finger were apart on either side. This early specimen of smudgeography was large enough, owing to his taking about tens in gloves, to afford room for additions, and indeed would look better with

some of the spaces filled up ; and so the Ottoman scribes wrote within them the name of Murad, his title, and the phrase that bore testimony to his victorious career. Of this remarkable performance, the tughra remained the symbol, the three upright forms being the sultan's three fingers, firm and square in the tips, the curves to the left his very large thumb, and the double line to the left his almost dislocated little finger. These leading forms never varied on the standard, but owing to the name of the reigning sultan being always written in as in the original, the pattern of the tughra changed in its details with every reign. To get rid of the straggling effect of the device an oval halo was put round it, the rays of which extend so as to form a sort of flat octagonal star, which, without the tughra, but with the crescent and star, became the device on the warship flag. The tughra must not be confounded with the tug, which is a matter of horsetails—one, two or three—attached to the end of a gilt lance, beys having one tail carried before them and pashas three, whence the pasha of three tails, and Marryat's *Pacha of many Tales*.

Persia had many flags after Kawah's blacksmith's apron until it arrived at its tricolour of green, white, pink, horizontal. In its pale blue standard the tricolour occupies the upper canton, the badge being in the centre on a white circle. This badge is a lion holding a sword with the sun peeping over the lion's back, the usual wreath figuring below and the shah's crown above. The badge is also placed on the white of the ensign without a circle, the crown being on the green and the base of the wreath on the pink. The merchant flag is without a badge ; it has been described as a delicate symphony in colour, and that is about all it is, for there is no vigour in it.

From Persia we must voyage many miles round a coast

whence many flags have vanished including the peacock standard of Burma, of which we have heard so much in association with the white elephant ; but the real country of the white elephant is not Burma, but Siam. Siam has many flags, most of them bearing the national symbol of the three-headed elephant. In the royal standard, blue with a broad red border, this appears beneath a pagoda on a shield which has crossed swords and a white elephant in the base. The standard of the king is rectangular ; that of the queen is cut in the fly ; that of the crown prince has no red border. The governors of provinces display a white elephant fully caparisoned on a red ground with a white circle in the upper corner in which are represented the seals of their office and their names are written, of course, in the native character, so that they do not look out of place ; while the flag of the diplomatists has the shield and pagoda, and that of the consuls has the shield alone. The warship flag is red with the caparisoned elephant, and the jack is blue with a similar badge in which the golden housings are green and not gold. In the commodore's broad pennant they are blue, and the flag is a blue swallow-tail ; and the senior officer's pennant is like a yacht's burgee, blue in the hoist and white in the fly with a circular disc on the blue resembling one of the fiery patterns of a pin-wheel. The merchant flag is the plain white elephant on red.

The legend of the white elephant is that before Xacca, the founder of the nation, was born, his mother dreamt that she brought forth a white elephant, and the learned affirm that Xacca, after a metempsychosis of eighty thousand changes, concluded his very varied experiences as this white elephant, and thence was received into the company of the gods. The white elephant thus stands in the same relation to Siam as a patron saint.

China has had many flags and been credited with many more that are imaginary or ascribed to it in error, for instance, the house flag of the China Merchant Shipping Company. It is quite a land of banners and streamers and pennons and triangles, notched and scalloped in every pattern and of every proportion and many devices, hideous and quaint. The one dominant feature is the dragon, in whose queer attitudes there is at times evidently a meaning, as in the series before the revolt against the imperialists wherein the envoy's flag showed a dragon passing along the yellow field unconscious of a little red ball in the upper corner, the next view of his progress being given in the national flag in which the dragon had sighted the ball and was making a jump at it, and the next in the standard in which the dragon had caught the ball. Later on, however, the ensign became the standard, so that he could not catch it, but was left leaping at it in mid air.

China's colour is yellow, and the rank-marks on the flags—dragons, cranes, peacocks, lapdogs, leopards or whatnot—which answer to our coronets and stars, and do duty as badges, are all yellow, bordered in faint colours to outline them on the flag; but a few of the flags are blue with the standard in the upper canton, and one, that of the Chief of the Admiralty, is quarterly, yellow, red, white, blue with a red anchor on the white. In all these the dragon is intent on the scarlet ball, but in the other naval rank flags, those of the admirals and commodores, he has turned round suddenly and faces you from a background of stripes. These stripes are blue, white, yellow, red, in the lowest rank; then come five stripes, owing to the addition of a green one to the red; then they become six in number by the addition of a dark blue one to the green; and so effective were these horizontal stripes, one for each

province in the latest pattern, that the republican stripes replaced the dragon as the national flag.

Korea chose a flag quite of its own, the pa-kwa, which looks like a botanical diagram and has been used as a trade-mark, and is the symbol of any two opposite and yet relative elements in nature such as male and female, earth and sky, water and earth, both within the circle, and so curved and interlocked that they are equal in area though they do not seem to be so, for they are red and blue. This banner with the strange device on white is, or was, the merchant flag, which became the ensign by the addition of three short parallel blue lines in each corner, each of the four sets being alike and yet different owing to a break in the middle of some of the bars.

Japan has always been happy in its choice of flags, and as the Japanese captured Korea in the first century of our era their history is a long one; indeed it is said to begin in 600 B.C. The standard is the golden chrysanthemum of sixteen rays, that of the emperor being rectangular, that of the empress swallow-tailed, that of the crown prince with the flower in a white frame. Japan is the land of the rising sun, and the sun as a plain red ball on a white field is its jack and merchant flag; but with rays radiating from the ball it can be so treated as to give a wide variety, of which noteworthy advantage has been taken.

The flags of the naval officers show the sun with eight divergent rays, a vice-admiral's differing from an admiral's by a red border to the top, a rear-admiral's being red-edged top and bottom, and the commodore's an admiral's flag with a swallow-tail as usual. The ensign is white, like the rest, with the sun in the inner two-thirds of the flag putting forth sixteen rays to the edges of the flag, five to the top, five to the base, and three

to each of the sides. The pennant bears the same device in the hoist. The commander of the torpedo flotilla has a red swallow-tail bearing a white ball with only four rays. The minister of marine has a red foul anchor with a red chrysanthemum instead of a ring, the flower having five notched petals, and behind the anchor are two treble chevrons vandyked across the flag. The duty flag has a similar vandyke device in white across a red flag. In the repair-ship flag the pair of zigzags is blue on a white field with a red border top and bottom ; and the military transport flag is white with one blue zigzag more acute in its angles. The mail flag is white with a red border along the top and a bar of the same width a short distance below it from the middle of which a perpendicular is dropped to the lower edge. Taking these flags as a group, there is none more distinct or distinctive afloat.

CHAPTER X

EUROPEAN FLAGS

THE history of France begins with its flag, for France began with Clovis, that is Chlodwig—whence Ludwig and Louis—who dreamt the night before the battle of Tolbiac, in 496, that the golden toads in one of his standards had been changed to lilies. In 493 he had married a Christian wife, Clotilda, and during that battle he had vowed that if he conquered he would acknowledge her God; and the result was the rout of the Alemanni, and the baptism of Clovis on the following Christmas Day. Both he and his wife were buried in the church now known as that of St. Geneviève in Paris; and there in May, 1807, thirteen centuries afterwards, their remains were found, and the sarcophagi are still preserved, as well as his statue which was set up by King Robert the Wise before our William the Conqueror was born.

After his conversion, Clovis used the blue chape, that is cope, of St. Martin, which he believed had been the cause of his victory, St. Martin being the Apostle of the Gauls who retired from soldiering to become Bishop of Tours in 374, the saint whose helmet used to be carried by the French in their wars as an incitement to courage. His anniversary,



THE CHAPE OF ST.
MARTIN.

July 4th, is still one of the four Cross Quarter Days, being known in legal and other circles as Martinmas. He was, of course, the St. Martin who, at the gate of Amiens, divided his cloak with the beggarman, and the remainder of that cloak, or its successor—for materials wore longer in those days than in ours—was the cope which, hung on a crossbar as a banner, became the standard under which Clovis defeated Alaric II at Vouglè near Poitiers.

The cope was originally in the keeping of the monks of the abbey of Marmoutiers, and remained in vogue for some time, but did not always bring victory ; and after an interval in which many ensigns were tried, its place was taken by the oriflamme. This oriflamme was the sacred banner of the abbey of St. Denis, and had frequently been borne to victory in the struggles of the abbots with their powerful neighbours. The abbey owned the valley of Montmorency and the district known as the Vexin, which is simply a prolongation of that valley down the Seine. Prince Louis, afterwards King Louis the Fat, had been educated in the abbey, and when our William Rufus claimed the Vexin and invaded it, Louis, as its Count, marched against him and boldly took with him the abbot's banner. The effect was immediate, the enthusiasm was boundless, Rufus was swept away ; and, to secure for the future such desirable results, the oriflamme became the principal flag of France, and kept its pre-eminence until the time of Charles the Well-beloved, when the English entered Paris and it mysteriously disappeared, as, to tell the truth, it had often done before.

Philip the Fair lost it, at Mons, in 1304, where the Flemings surprised him and carried it off. St. Louis lost it in the seventh crusade, when he was taken prisoner and the flag became the trophy of his captors. Philip of Valois lost it at Cressy, where, with every other flag, it fell into the possession of the English ; and John lost it at

Poitiers, where the men of the Black Prince dragged it from beneath the corpse of the brave Geoffroy de Charny, the fiftieth of those "bearers of the oriflamme" to whom it had been entrusted as a sacred charge since the days of the driving of Rufus from the Vexin.

The original oriflamme seems to have been a large red banner mounted on a gilt staff with its loose end cut into three tongues resembling flames, between each of which was a green tassel, but it appears in many other forms, in some of which it is bordered and ornamented with various crosses, one or more, and sometimes annulets. It has even been recorded as square in shape:—"The celestial auriflamb so by the French admired, was but of one colour, a square redde banner"—which certainly seems to be an error. The last time that it was borne in battle was at Agincourt, on October 25th, 1415, when it undoubtedly failed to justify the confidence that was placed in it.

The banner of St. Denis, like that of St. Martin, was not as we have seen, the only flag carried by the French warriors. There were those golden toads, which Bonaparte afterwards said were golden bees, which Clovis dreamt were fleurs-de-lis and somebody after him made so, but who that somebody was no one seems to know. At the battle of Bouvines, when he beat the Emperor Otho and the troops of King John, the banner of Philip Augustus, waved as a signal during the critical hour, was that of the lilies on a blue field; and when St. Louis returned from his captivity without the oriflamme he hoisted the lilies on a white field.

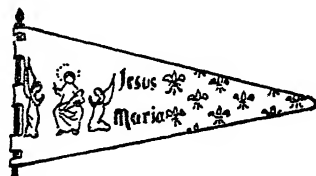
The fleur-de-lis is probably the flower of the yellow iris, the yellow flag—so called from waving in the wind, according to the botany books—being the iris with the round stem, *Iris pseudacorus*; but some authors aver that it is a lance-head, which it may be, that is a lance-

head in the shape of an iris flower. In a miniature of Charles the Fat in a book of prayers of about 870 the royal sceptre ends in a fleur-de-lis; and the crown of Hugh Capet of 957 in St. Denis is formed of fleur-de-lis, as is that of his successors, Robert the Wise, in 996, and Henry I, 1031, and many others; and to make the matter more complicated the crown of Uffa, first king of the East Angles, 575, bears true fleurs-de-lis, as do many other crowns, from which it would seem that it was a symbol of royalty long before St. Louis took it for his badge when he started for the crusade, as he is reported to have done by those who assure us that it is really the fleur-de-louis, whence the flower-de-luce of many of our old writers, and in no sense derived from the Belgian river named Lys where it used to grow in profusion. Luce, however, means a pike of the fishy sort, and the humorist may have had a say somewhere; and some follow Littré, who, ignoring the iris, defined the figure as a heraldic device representing very imperfectly three flowers of the white lily joined together. Whatever it may be, it seems to have existed before Clovis, or he would not have seen it in a dream which we need not believe in, though the learned who wrote about the fleur-de-lis chose to do so. Let us, then, talk about the lilies and leave their derivation as a mystery.

During the Hundred Years War the white cross was used, and white was adopted as the national colour. "Follow my white plume," said Henry of Navarre, "and you will always find it on the road to victory"; and, from Louis the Just to the Revolution, white plumes, white scarves and white flags were characteristic of the French. The flags in the Artillery Museum at the Invalides, however, show that this did not apply to all the flags, for here we have a sky blue cavalry standard with the golden sun of Louis XIV; the red and yellow banner of Louis XII,

with whose wars in Italy the name of Bayard will ever be associated ; and the red banner with the white cross borne by the French during their long struggle with the English invaders.

Here also are an oriflamme of red with ornaments of gold, and another one red with fringes of green, and the white and gold banner of the Maid of



BANNER OF JOAN OF ARC.

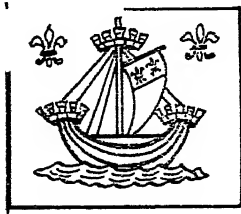
Orleans with its madonna, angels and lilies, and the arms of France modern on the banner of Charles VII which floated in the van of the French attack by the side of that of Joan of Arc, and the famous old banner of the city of Paris with its white ship on a blood-red field. Among the others most noticeable are an infantry flag under Charles VII with its white cross on a lily field of blue ; the blue over white banner of Francis I in which every lily alternates with an F ; the old blue banner of the Gardes Françaises in which the cross is sprinkled with lilies and has every bar ending in a crown ; the red embattled diagonal cross on the white lily field of the regiment of Burgundy ; the white cross charged with escutcheons and lilies on a light brown field of the regiment of Navarre ; and the glorious green with the white cross of the regiment of Champagne. Most of these flags are originals, a few are reproductions, the French having adopted the plan of making copies of their flags before they waste away.

When Louis XI, in 1479, organized the national infantry he gave them as their national ensign a scarlet flag with a white cross on it ; and some two hundred years later the various provincial levies appeared beneath flags of various designs and colours, but all agreeing in having the white cross as the leading feature. In 1669, to diminish the confusion among the French flags, the Minister of Marine

issued an order that ensigns were to be blue, powdered with yellow lilies, and have a large white cross in the middle, but before the year was out came another order that the ensigns at the stern were in all cases to be white ; and in each case the merchant ships were to be distinguished from warships by having in the upper canton the device of their province or town.

The lilies have always been held in esteem by the French, notwithstanding political changes. When Napoleon was at Auch, in Armagnac, he asked why many of the windows of the cathedral were partially covered with white paper, and he was told that it was because it was feared that he would be offended at the sight of certain ancient emblems there represented. "What!" he exclaimed, "the fleur-de-lis? Uncover them this moment. During eight centuries they guided the French to glory, as my eagles do now, and they must always be dear to France and held in reverence by her true children." This was not, however, quite the opinion of all the revolutionaries, nor of his nephew in 1852 when the edict was issued forbidding the lilies to be introduced in jewellery, tapestry, or in any other method of decoration, lest they should imperil the position of a sovereign whose enemies might use them for political purposes.

The tricolour which, except during the short interval of the Bourbon restoration, has been the flag of France ever since, began to come into use among the crowd in 1789. It was not designed with a view of combining the white of the Bourbons with the red of Paris or the blue of St. Martin and the red of St. Denis or anything else ; it was simply the flag of the most flourishing and best known existing republic, that



THE SHIP OF PARIS.

of the Netherlands, turned half way round, at first from right to left, when it was red, white and blue, and afterwards, as we shall see, from left to right, when it was blue, white and red ; and a world of meaning has been read into it and much romance in prose and verse put forth which is all imaginary.

To begin with, it was unofficial, and the change was gradual. In 1790 a decree was issued giving to all flags the cravat or knot of tricoloured ribbons at the top of the staff ; and on October 24th of that year it was further decreed that the colour of the national flag next the staff was to be red, the middle stripe white, and the outer blue. The following year the regimental colours were slightly altered, the old ones being charged with a tricoloured quarter—red, white and blue—and given a narrow blue and red border. In 1792 the old flags were replaced by new ones in the three colours, but the position and proportions of the divisions were not stated, and the result was a remarkably varied collection of bars and squares and interlacements.

Then the red, white and blue was tried in use afloat and ashore and reported on as being indistinct in the fly ; and to remedy this, and the confusion, it was ordered on February 15th, 1794, that “the flag prescribed by the National Assembly be abolished : the national flag shall be formed of the three national colours in equal bands placed vertically, the hoist being blue, the middle white, and the fly red.” So it remained for many years ; but, though the stripes were equal, they never looked equal at a distance owing to their different degrees of visibility, the red being apparently smaller than the white and the white than the blue, and this matter being gone into with many scientific experiments, the proportions of the colours were ordered to be, as they are now, “in every 100 parts, blue to be 30, white 33, red 37.”

The military flags of the republic bore on one side the names of the battles in which the regiment had distinguished itself, and on the other "R. F.—Discipline, Obéissance à la Loi," and some, in imitation of those of the monarchy, had special mottoes. The poles were surmounted by a pike; those of the empire had an eagle, hence the term eagle as often applied to these colours. Napoleon had serious thoughts of substituting green—which was his favourite colour—for the tricolour, but better counsels prevailed, and he turned his attention to the imperial standard, in which he replaced the Bourbon lilies by golden bees as already mentioned.

After Jena, and until 1814, the colours of the regiments then serving in Russia and Germany bore golden laurel wreaths which were voted to them by the city of Paris; and these they bore until the Restoration, when the white flag came back to replace the tricolour until the return from Elba; and then followed Waterloo and the return of the Bourbons once again, this time under a white flag with three lilies on blue in the centre. For sixteen years the tricolour was in abeyance, and seventeen years after its return it was again in danger.

On the outbreak of the second republic in 1848, the people immediately on its proclamation demanded the adoption of the ill-omened red flag. Lamartine, the leading member of the provisional government, spoke against this in an impassioned address which he closed with, "Citizens, I will reject even to death this banner of blood, and you should repudiate it still more than myself, for this red flag you offer us has only made the circuit of the Champ de Mars bathed in the blood of the people while the tricolour has made the circuit of the world, with the name, the glory, and the liberty of your country." Louis Blanc and other members of the government were in favour of it notwithstanding, and at last a compromise

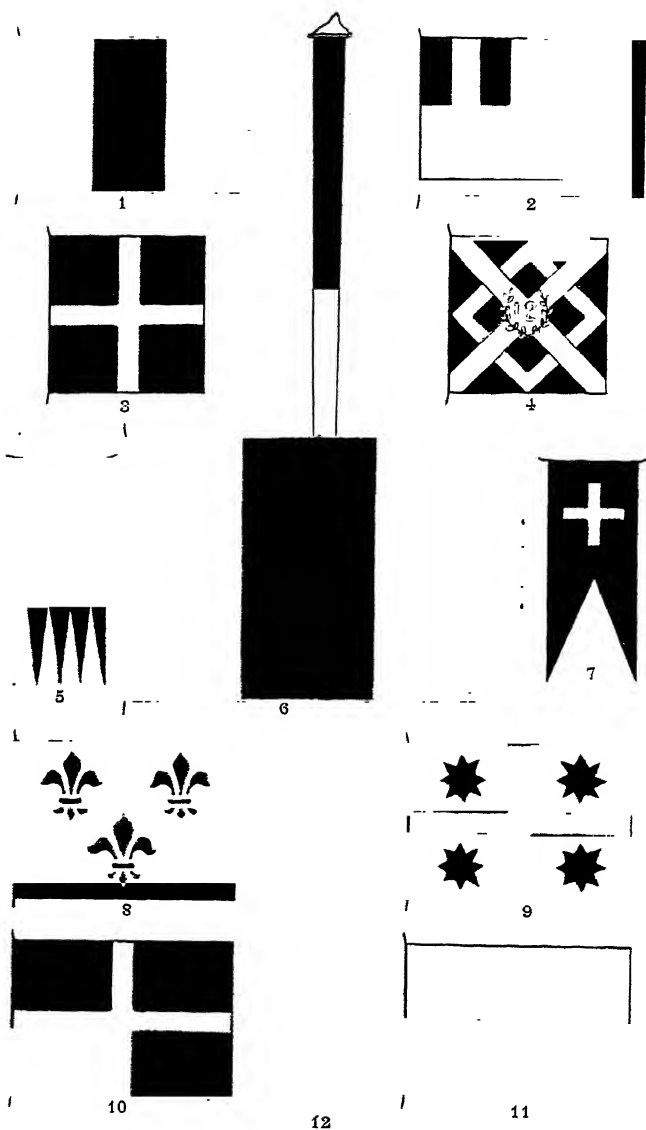


PLATE XXIX.
EUROPEAN FLAGS—I.

1. The First French Tricolour.
2. Military Flag of 1790.
3. Flag of the Regiment of Champagne.
4. Flag of the 12th Demi-Brigade.
5. The First Oriflamme.
6. National Flag of France.
7. Oriflamme of the Hundred Years War.
8. Standard of Charles VI.
9. Flag of Louis XII showing "The Cross of France."
10. Flag of the Soissons Regiment.
11. Flag flown by submarines.
12. Warship Pennant.

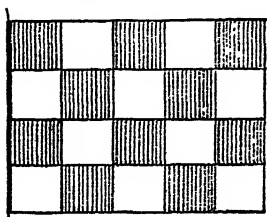
was effected and the tricolour was given a large red rosette, which soon disappeared.

The tricolour is both ensign and merchant flag, and the president's flag is the same with the addition of his initials in gold in Roman style, one third the breadth of the flag, worked into the white stripe. Among the flags of the naval officers the chief are that of an admiral which has crossed batons in the upper part of the blue; that of a vice-admiral with three white stars, one over two, in the blue; and that of a rear-admiral which has two stars, one over the other. The commodore's burgee is the inevitable swallow-tail, and the senior officer's flag is a pointed burgee with two stars in the blue if a captain and one star if a commander, but when they are not in independent command the stars are blue on the white. The flotilla flag is a large white star on blue and red vertical.

Colonial governors have a blue flag with blue, white, red as a large union, so that it looks like a blue flag with a white and red stripe let into the middle of the top half. French flags are not all blue, white and red; that of the harbour police is a white and blue burgee, that of the senior officer of merchant ships is a blue and white burgee, and that of the submarines is yellow over red. The pennant is, of course, blue, white and red, its proportions being 400 of length to three of breadth, while that of the burgees above mentioned is two to one.

The merchant flag of Spain is really that of Aragon turned half-way round with two of the red stripes omitted; and red and yellow are the Spanish colours now as they were when that "Citizen and Merchant Tayler" from whom we have already quoted so freely, and whose orthography is distinctive, saw King Philip riding through London attired in them, and "dyvers Spaneards and men with thrumpets in the same colors, and drumes made of ketylles, and baners in the same colors."

Aragon had, as shown in the standard, four red stripes on yellow, vertical. Reduce the red stripes to two and make them horizontal, with yellow over red forming the upper third of the flag, yellow the middle third, and red over yellow the bottom third, and you have the commercial flag. Take away the yellow top and bottom and leave only red, yellow and red, in the proportions of a quarter red, a half yellow, and a quarter red, and put a badge in the yellow near the hoist, and you have the ensign. The badge is a crowned oval bearing the arms of Castile and Leon, the golden castle on red and the red lion rampant on white, the same arms as are seen quarterly on the



THE SPANISH JACK.

monument in Westminster Abbey of Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand II, King of Leon and Castile, who was the wife of our Edward I. These Spanish flags were introduced on May 24th, 1785, as was also the jack, which is the old chequered banner of Burgundy.

Spain has grown into one monarchy by the aggregation of minor states. In the year 714 came the defeat of Roderick, the last Gothic king, who saw the vision between the two grim sentinels of molten bronze as recorded by Sir Walter Scott—

“By heaven, the Moors prevail! the Christians yield!—
 Their coward leader gives for flight the sign!
 The sceptred craven mounts to quit the field—
 Is not yon steed Orelia?—Yes, 'tis mine!”

—and the tide of Moorish conquest flowed under the green and red flags till it reached Compostella in 997. Then Almansor lost all his own conquests at Catalañazor in 1002, and the reconquest began; and among the many independent princes rose those of Castile—the land of the

frontier castles—whose crown was united with that of Leon for the first time under Ferdinand the Great in 1037, to be united with it again under St. Ferdinand in 1230. In 1469 Ferdinand II of Aragon married Isabella of Castile, the Ysabil of Columbus, and thus united nearly the whole of the Christian part of Spain into one monarchy which in 1492 absorbed Moorish Spain by the conquest of Granada.

Legend hath it that in the year 873 the Carlovingian King Charles the Bold honoured Geoffrey, Count of Barcelona, after a battle in which they were allied, by dipping his four fingers in the blood from the Count's wounds and drawing them down the Count's golden shield; and that these ruddy bars were then and there incorporated into the blazon. Barcelona was shortly afterwards merged into the kingdom of Aragon which adopted these arms; and its four upright stripes of red, the marks of the royal fingers, are still prominent in the Spanish standard.

The royal standards, past and present, form an epitome of Spanish history, but many of the bearings are as inappropriate to the existing conditions as was the retention in the arms of Great Britain of the French lilies centuries after the claim to them had been lost. In the standard of Alfonso XII we had Castile and Leon quarterly, then Aragon, then Sicily, that is the Aragon stripes covered at the sides by the white triangles bearing the black eagle. Below Castile and Leon was the narrow red, white and red stripe for Austria, which balanced the narrow red and white chequers and the mere suggestion of the French lilies doing duty for Burgundy. Below Austria came Burgundy again with its oblique stripes of yellow and blue and the red border which on its curved lower edge divided it from the black lion on yellow for Flanders. Alongside of this came the red eagle of Antwerp, cut off by another

curve from the golden lion on black of Brabant. The two escutcheons were those of Portugal and France. In the standard of Alfonso XIII there is but one escutcheon, the arms of Castile and Leon quarterly bearing an in-escutcheon of the three French lilies, but such hopeles claims as those to Burgundy and the Netherlands figure as before, and the two narrow strips have been promoted to the top row, which displays Aragon, Sicily, Austria, and Burgundy, so that there are again two different Burgundies, French and ancient.

Spanish admirals are distinguished by crossed anchors, an upright anchor and an anchor and star, all blue and placed on the yellow of the ensign, as are a blue cross for a cardinal, a blue T for a knight of the golden fleece, and a blue crown for an ambassador, blue stars being used as military rank-marks.

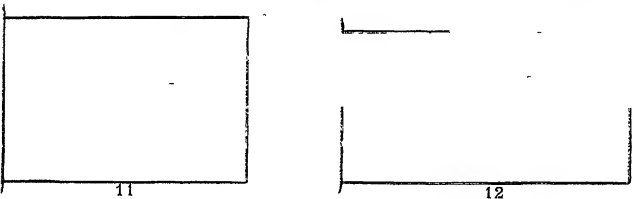
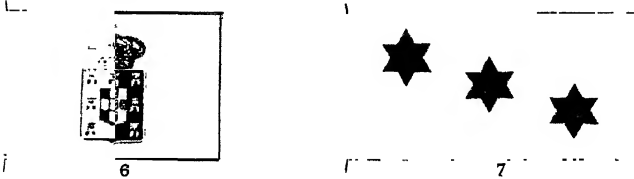
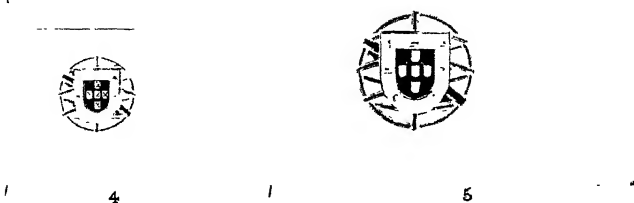
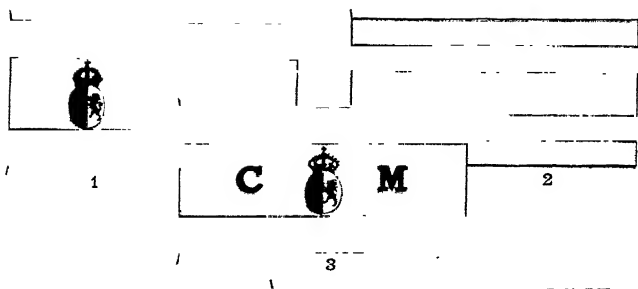
Portugal as a republic retains as its "emblem" the arms of the monarchy, the simple and effective device of the seven castles and five shields. The shields commemorate the great victory of Alfonso Henriquez in 1139 over the five Moorish princes at the battle of Ourique, while the five white circles placed on each symbolize the five wounds of the Saviour in whose strength he defeated the infidels; and became the first king of Portugal. The scarlet border with its castles was added by Alfonso III after his marriage in 1252 with the daughter of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile. These arms have been unaltered for centuries. In the contemporary poem previously quoted on the siege of Rouen in 1418 we read of

"The Kyngis heraudis and pursiuantis,
In cotis of armys arryauntis.
The Englishe a beste, the Frensshe a floure
Of Portyugale bothe castelle and toure,
And other cotis of diversitie
As lordis beren in ther degre."

PLATE XXX.

EUROPEAN FLAGS—2.

1. Spain, Warship.
2. Spain, Merchant.
3. Spain, Mail.
4. Portugal, Jack.
5. Portugal, Ensign.
6. Old Portuguese Ensign.
7. Italy, Admiral's Flag.
- 8 Italy, Jack.
9. Italy, National Flag.
10. Switzerland.
11. Geneva Cross.
12. Monaco.



The pale blue and white of the flags under the monarchy were taken from these arms in 1830, the old Portuguese ensign being made up of two green and four white horizontal stripes, and the republican ensign is green and red vertical with the shield framed in an armillary sphere, such as used to appear on the Braganza arms of Brazil ; and in this ensign the Portuguese have taken a hint from the French and made the red larger than the green. The president's flag is green with the emblem as on the ensign, and the naval and departmental flags are white with the badge with a green stripe or a green St. George's Cross, St. George being the old patron saint as he was also of Aragon. The admiral has the crossed batons in the upper canton, the vice-admiral one ball there, the rear-admiral a ball in each of the inner cantons, but when he is not commanding in chief he has one ball in the upper canton and the other in the lower canton of the fly. The jack is a handsome square flag of red with a broad green border having the emblem, as it is officially called, in the centre.

The Swiss, being in want of a flag, chose the simple white cross of the Crusaders, and Gautier tells us why. "The first time it is mentioned is in the chronicle of Justinger the Béarnois. He says, after giving an enumeration of the Swiss forces leaving Berne to march against the coalition of nobles in 1339—'And all were distinguished by the sign of the Holy Cross, a white cross on a red shield, for the reason that the freeing of the nation was for them a cause as sacred as the deliverance of the Holy Places !'" Truly an excellent flag and an excellent reason for it.

This is the national flag, each canton having its own cantonal colour. Basel has black over white ; St. Gall green over white ; Aargau black over blue ; Glarus red, black, white, horizontal ; Uri yellow over black ; Berne black over red ; Lucerne blue over white ; Ticino red over

blue ; Geneva red over yellow ; and so forth, for each of the twenty-five cantons.

It was at Geneva, in 1863, that the International Conference was held to consider how far the horrors of war could be mitigated by aid to the sick and wounded. This Conference proposed that in time of war the neutrality should be fully admitted of field and stationary hospitals, and also recognized in the most complete manner by the belligerent powers in the case of all officials employed in sanitary work, volunteer nurses, the inhabitants of the country who shall assist the wounded, and the wounded themselves ; and that an identical distinctive sign should be used for the medical corps of all armies, and an identical flag for all hospitals and ambulances, and for all houses containing wounded men. The distinctive mark of all such refugees was agreed to be a white flag with a red cross on it—the flag of Switzerland reversed in colouring—and all medical stores, carriages and the like bear the same device upon them ; while the doctors, nurses and assistants have a white armlet with the red cross upon it, the sacred badge that proclaims their mission of mercy. That was the origin of the Red Cross flag, instituted in Switzerland, like the flag of Switzerland, “for a cause as sacred as the deliverance of the Holy Places.” No flag flies over a nobler work for mankind ; none has been more disregarded and abused by unscrupulous combatants.

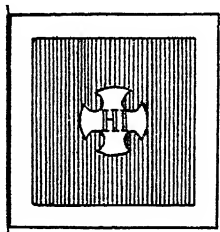
A white cross on a red field is also the badge of Italy, but its bars extend to the edges of the shield, whereas the Swiss cross has equal arms which terminate within the field. The Savoy cross is the centre of the Italian standard, borne on the black eagle’s breast ; it is the centre of the national flag, and it was the nucleus of modern Italy. On the fall of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies under Garibaldi’s invasion in 1861 the first national parliament of Italy met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel,

then only King of Sardinia, King of Italy ; and the white flag of Naples with its shield among the fireworks disappeared. Then Tuscany's red, white, red, horizontal, was hauled down, and Parma, Modena, Lombardy, Venice were acquired, the States of the Church lowering their white and yellow at Civita Vecchia and elsewhere and being reduced to the area of the Vatican in 1870.

Italy had been a kingdom before under Napoleon with Eugène Beauharnais as his viceroy, and Napoleon designed the flag for it, a tricolour of green, white and red, vertical, his idea being that while giving the new kingdom a flag of its own, it should indicate by its close resemblance to that of France the source to which it owed its existence. In 1848 this flag, which had been withdrawn on the downfall of the emperor, was hoisted again by the nationalists of the peninsula, being accepted by the King of Sardinia as the ensign of his own dominion, and charged by him with the arms of Savoy. Thus Italy regained the old tricolour for its merchant flag, which would be as Napoleon left it, were it not for the difficulty about that of Mexico, to distinguish it from which it bears the Savoy shield without a crown. The ensign has the crown. The jack is square, being a white cross on red with a broad blue border taking the place of the border of the shield. The ranks of naval officers are shown by yellow stars on blue, the three being placed diagonally as are the three blue stars on white that indicate an ambassador. The secretary of the navy sports a crowned anchor on blue, and the minister of the navy puts a yellow frame round the device. There is no mistake about the Italian postal pennant which carries a big P in the hoist.

The flag of Monaco is red over white like that of Bohemia, Tyrol having white over red, Dalmatia blue over yellow, and Galicia blue over red. Hungary's ensign is red, white, green, horizontal, and hence the half red

half green, of the lower bar of the Austro-Hungarian ensign. Austria's warship flag, which originated in 1786, has three equal horizontal bars of red, white and red, with a crowned shield similarly divided. The shield was the heraldic device of the ancient Dukes of Austria, and is known to have been in existence in 1191 as borne by Duke Leopold Heldenthum, who put Coeur de Lion in prison. The yellow standard, deep in tint, bears a black double-headed eagle, the badge of the emperors of the west, with a border of triangles like a mosaic, the triangles turning alternately inwards and outwards, the outer line being alternately white and yellow and the inner line red and black, the corner pieces being black. Flags of honour are special to Austria. There are two of them, a red and a white, both bearing the eagle and both with the same peculiarity of having the motto "Viribus unitis" on one side and that of "Merito navalis," if a white flag, or "Fortitudini navali," if a red one, on the other. These are the only instances of different mottoes appearing on the back and front of flags in Europe.



FLAG OF MONTENEGRO

The Serbian flag is that of Russia reversed, being blue, red, white, horizontal; Montenegro has a similar flag distinguished by crowned initials in the blue, though its military flag is red with a white border on which is a white cross with incurved bars and rounded ends. The Greeks adopted pale blue and white as a compliment to the Bavarian prince who, in 1833, was their first king, but when the Bavarian influence departed the colour became dark blue. The standard is a white rectangular cross on dark blue with the royal arms in the centre, the shield of which has the Danish giants as supporters, and bears on

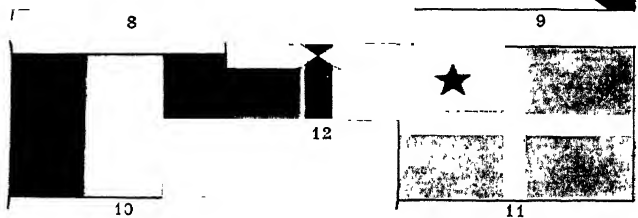
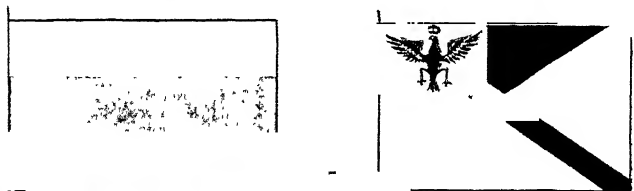
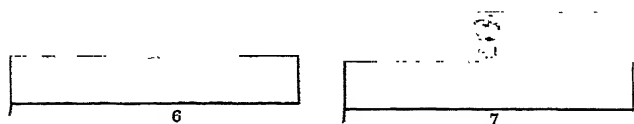
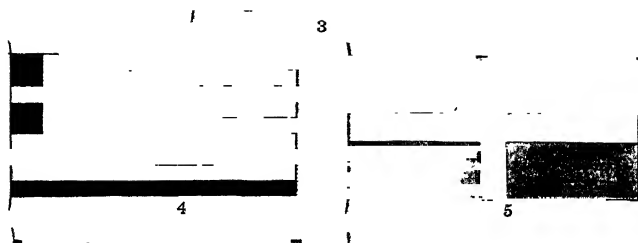
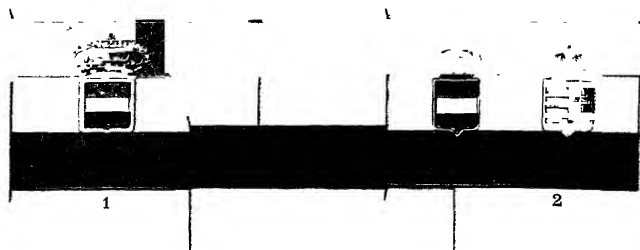


PLATE XXXI.

EUROPEAN FLAGS—3.

1. Austria, Ensign.
2. Austria-Hungary, Ensign.
3. Hungary, Ensign.
4. Greece.
5. Samos.
6. Serbia.
7. Montenegro.
8. Bulgaria.
9. Poland.
10. Rumania.
11. Crete.
12. Norway and Sweden, Old Union.

its dark blue field a prominent white rectangular cross, so that it looks like a miniature copy of the flag. The ensign has nine horizontal stripes, of which five are dark blue and the others white, and in the canton is a reproduction of the standard with a crown taking the place of the arms, the merchant flag being without the crown.

Crete for a time was under a High Commissioner whose flag was too good to be left unmentioned, a white cross on a blue field with a white star on a red field in the upper canton, somewhat of the same character as that of Samos with its white cross well displayed on red above and blue below, or, in other words, red over blue divided into four by the broad St. George. Bulgaria has a horizontal tricolour, white, green and red, with a golden lion on a red field in the upper canton as its naval flag. Rumania has a vertical tricolour of blue, yellow and red. Another good flag is that of Poland with a white eagle on a red field as the upper canton of a blue St. Andrew on a white field indicating the Russian influence.

On the Russian standard the introduction of the black two-headed eagle dates back to the year 1472, when Ivan the Great married Sophia, a niece of Constantine Palæologus, and thence assumed the arms of the Greek empire. On the breast of the eagle is an escutcheon bearing on its red field in silver the figure of St. George slaying the dragon, the whole being surrounded by the collar of St. Andrew. On the displayed wings of the eagle are other shields with the arms of Kieff, a silver angel on an azure field; of Novgorod, two black bears on a golden shield; of Voldermirz, a golden lion rampant on a red shield; of Kasan, a black wyvern on a silver ground, and so forth; and between the eagle's legs is the blue Cross of St. Andrew which, on a white field, is the Russian ensign.

The merchant flag is a horizontal tricolour of white, blue and red. Once upon a time it was the Dutch flag

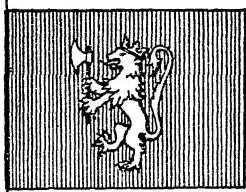
reversed, then the same flag with a blue St. Andrew in the white to distinguish it. Peter the Great took the original flag with him from Amsterdam and hoisted it upside down, but the idea of a Russian being a Dutchman in distress was not pleasing to the national pride, and so the stripes were rearranged. The jack—white St. George on red, combined with blue St. Andrew edged with white—is one of the handsomest afloat, but Russia has many handsome flags, in fact no country has more. The admiral's flag is the ensign; that of a vice-admiral has the blue bar at the base from which the Japanese took the idea of marking the rank of their admirals on their flags. The most remarkable of the official flags is that of the admiralty which has four anchors placed diagonally with their flukes intercrossed so as to leave the white of the field peeping through the centre.

Another handsome flag was that of Sweden and Norway when under one crown, but the red and yellow union went with the separation in 1905. Sweden has flown the yellow cross on the pale blue field since Gustavus Vasa became its king in 1523, and its ensign like that of the other two Scandinavian powers is swallow-tailed. It has also the horizontal bar of the cross prolonged into a point so as to give the flag three tails. In the national flag the bar is unpointed and the space between the tails is filled up with the blue field, thus bringing the upright of the cross on the boundary of the inner third. The standard is the ensign with a white square in the centre on which is the royal coat of arms.

Norway has the simplest of standards, a red flag on which stands a crowned lion holding a battle-axe in his fore paws. The ensign is red and three-tailed, a blue cross edged with white extending in a point between the swallow-tails; in the national flag the space between the tails is filled up in the Swedish manner and the up-

right of the rectangular cross is therefore not in the middle as it is in the square jack.

The Danish ensign is also swallow-tailed, and the white cross is not tapered out into a point but ends squarely, the inner edges of the red tails leading off from the upper and lower edges of the bar. This is the Dannebrog, one of the oldest national flags in continuous use. In the year 1219, King Waldemar of Denmark in a critical



ROYAL STANDARD
OF NORWAY.

moment of his stormy career, saw, or thought he saw, a white cross in the red sky. He was then leading his troops to battle against the pagan Livonians, and gladly welcomed such an assurance of celestial aid in answer to his prayers, and as soon as could be, adopted it as his country's flag under the well-known name which signifies the strength of Denmark. The Danish merchant flag is rectangular, with the bar of the cross longer towards the fly than towards the hoist for the same reason as those of Sweden and Norway.

Holland came into existence as an independent state in 1579, when the Dutch adopted as their flag the colours of William, Prince of Orange, their famous leader—orange, white and blue. At first there was great latitude of treatment, the number of bars of each colour and their order being variable, but in 1599 it was officially fixed that the flag of the Netherlands was to be orange, white and blue in three horizontal stripes of equal width. How the orange came to be changed to red is not yet known, but it was probably owing to the indefiniteness of the orange and its liability to fade in the salt sea air; whatever it may have been, the Dutch flag in 1643 was the tricolour we know of—red, white and blue. During the

French Revolution, when Holland became the Batavian Republic under the French, the naval flag had in the upper canton a figure of Liberty on a white field, but the innovation was not popular, as the sailors preferred the old plain tricolour under which the victories of De Ruyter and Van Tromp had been gained, and in 1806, when Louis Bonaparte became King, the figure disappeared.

The standard bears the royal arms in which the shield is occupied by the lion of Nassau that appeared on the British Royal Standard under William III. The admiral's flag has crossed batons on the red ; that of the lieutenant-admiral, a rank peculiar to the Dutch and Belgian navies, bears four white stars ; that of a vice-admiral three ; that of a rear-admiral one. The commodore's pennant is curious : a tapering red, white and blue truncated at the point with a deep narrow slit in the white as if it had been accidentally torn.

Belgium flies the vertical tricolour, black, yellow, red, the old colours of Brabant. With the royal arms, of which the shield is the golden lion on black of Brabant, this is the standard ; without the arms, it is used by both warships and merchant vessels. The rank-marks of the admirals are white balls, one over the other in the upper part of the black, a full admiral having four and a rear-admiral one.

Before there were national flags, vessels were distinguished by the flags of their ports, in England as elsewhere, as mentioned in our first chapter, and in the north of Europe these flags were gradually replaced by the red over white of the Hanseatic League in which so many of them became united. The Hansa, which was pre-eminently German, and according to Werdenhagen derived its name from An-der-See, that is on the sea, consisted at first of maritime towns only. Lübeck stood at the head, while Bremen and Hamburg ranked next, and during the

PLATE XXXII

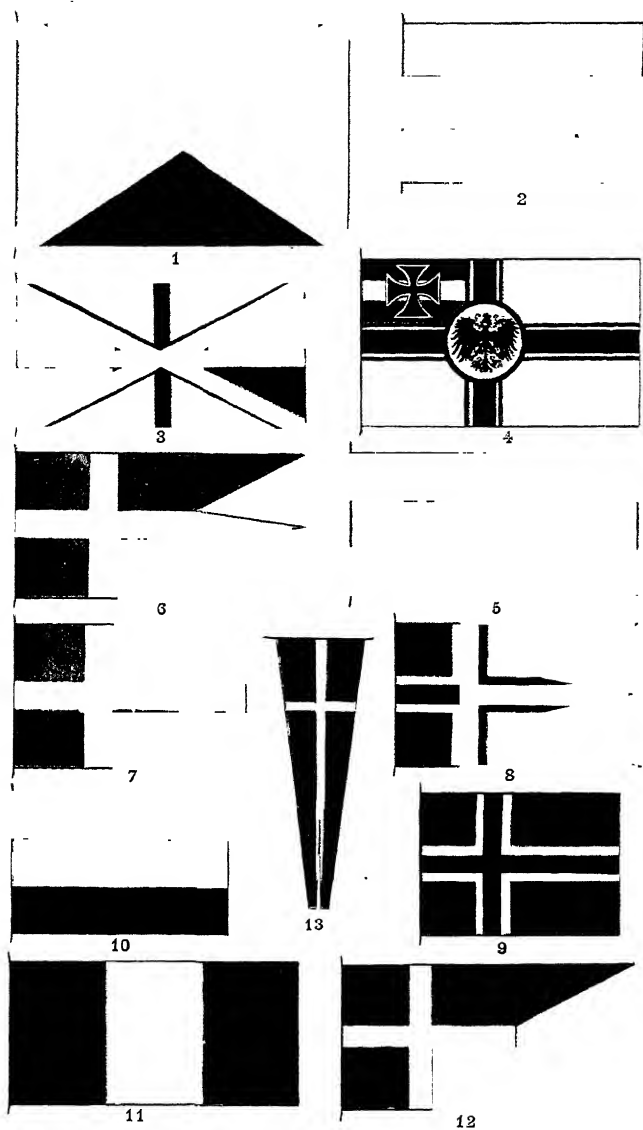
EUROPEAN FLAGS—4.

1. Russia, Ensign.
2. Russia, Jack.
3. Russia, Merchant.
4. Germany, Ensign.
5. Germany, Merchant.
6. Sweden, Ensign.
7. Sweden, Merchant.
8. Norway, Ensign.
9. Norway, Merchant.
10. Holland.
11. Belgium.
12. Denmark.
13. Denmark, Commodore.

ERRATA ON PLATE XXXII.

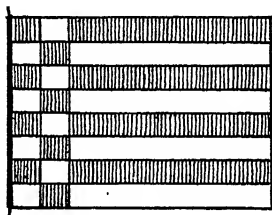
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fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the League was the chief maritime power. In 1418 the Hansa not only included Dantzic, Riga, Cologne, Munster, Deventer, Magdeburg, Brunswick and Hildesheim, but had enrolled as confederate cities Rouen, Bordeaux, St. Malo, Cadiz, Barcelona, Leghorn and Messina. In its four quarters as they were called, Wendish, Saxon, Westphalian and Prussian, its sixty-six cities practically embraced for commercial purposes the whole of North Germany and much more ; but the Hansa decayed as the nations grew, and received its severest blows when England secured the Russian trade and when the League was turned out of London from its monastic home at the Steelyard by Queen Elizabeth in 1589, leaving Dowgate Dock near Cannon Street Station as the only trace of its existence here.

Some of the towns flew their old flags until the establishment of the empire ; Hamburg had its white castle on red, Lübeck its white over red which became our pilot flag, Bremen the four red and four white stripes with white over red squares near the hoist, the first white being on the top red stripe, and so on. As the towns had their flags, so had the German states. Pomerania, for example, had its blue over white; Saxony its white over green; Waldeck its black, red and yellow; Würtemberg its black over red; Mecklenburg its red, yellow and blue; Brunswick its blue over yellow; Hesse its red over white; Baden its red over yellow; Bavaria its white over pale blue; Hanover its yellow over white; West Prussia its black, white and black; and East Prussia its black over white.



FLAG OF BREMEN.

In October, 1867, the North German Confederation

originated the first German national flag, three stripes, black, white and red, horizontal, in which the red represents the old Hansa. In January, 1871, the German Empire was founded and the imperial flags were introduced, the merchant flag remaining as it was and forming the upper canton of the black-cross white ensign, the cross in the canton, as on the jack, being the iron cross, as we now know it, of the old Teutonic Knights, the "Teutsch Ritterdom," as Carlyle says, "which flamed like a bright blessed beacon through the night of things in those northern countries" when "the Prussians were a fierce fighting people, fanatically Anti-Christian." The same cross, with its bars a little less incurved, is the principal feature of the standard, which, like the presidential flags of several of the American republics, bears on it the date of its origin; and the same cross which, on a white field, was assigned to the admirals whose grades were marked in the British way, but with black balls instead of red.

Our journey is at an end. We have been round the world and noted almost everywhere the emblems of nationality. Unfamiliar as many of these may be, they are the symbols endeared to thousands of hearts and replete with human interest. For their strips and breadths of silk and bunting men have given their lives and poured out blood and treasure without stint; and wherever they are met with the wanderers forget for a while the alien shore or waste of ocean as their thoughts turn to the land they left behind them.

Haul down the flag—the evening shadows fall—
And reverently we'll hoist it in the morn.
The flag of flags we honour most of all
Is that beneath which we were born.

INDEX

- Aargau, 231
 Aberdeen, 114
 Aberdeen line, 135
 Achaius, King of Scots, 40, 51
 Admirals, Flags of, 50, 58, 73
 Admiralty flag, The, 72
 Admiralty warrant, 121
 Africa, East, 106
 Africa, South, 106
 Africa, West, 106
 African flags, 210
 African line, 137
 Agamemnon, The signal of, 2
 Agamemnons, Nelson's, 90
 Agecroft Rowing Club, 131
 Agincourt, Battle of, 7, 221
 Albany, The flags at, 198
 Albert Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 123
 Albuera, Battle of, 93
 Alderney, 111
 Alexandra, Princess of Wales's
 Own (Yorkshire Regiment), 85
 Alfonso Henriquez, 230
 Alfred Yacht Club, Royal 123
 Allan line, 136
 Almansor, 228
 Ambulance flag, 32, 232
 America, The, 130
 American code, The, 166
 American colours, The, 133
 American eagle, The, 194
 American flags, 182
 American line, 136
 American standard, The, 183
 Anchor line, 136
 Andamans, 110
 Anglesey Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 125
 Annasona's flag, 130
 Anne, Queen, 45
 Anson's signals, 146
 Antelope as badge, 28, 82
 Anti-mutiny flag, 31
 Antioch, The Battle of, 47
 Antwerp, 229
 Anvil as device, 20
 Aragon, 227
 Argentina, 205
 Argyll and Sutherland High-
 landers, 97
 Armada, The, 43, 141
 Armillary sphere, The, 231
 Arms, The first shield of, 38
 Army colours, 62, 73
 Army Service Corps, 74
 Army signalling, 180
 Arrow's racing flag, 130
 Arthur, Prince of Wales, 8
 Arundel, The Countess of, 9
 Ascension, 106
 Ashanti, 211
 Assaye elephant, The, 94

- Assyria, Insignia of, 2
 At-home flag, 129
 Athens, The owl of, 2
 Atlantic Yacht Club, 199
 Australia, 107
 Australia, South, 108
 Australia, Western, 108
 Austria, 234
 Austria-Hungary, 234
 Avon Rowing Club, 131
 Avondale flag, The, 52
 Away flag, 129
 Axe as device, 20

 Baden, 239
 Badges, Colonial, 101
 Badges of English Kings, 27
 Badges of the Guards, 75
 Badges Regimental, 79
 Bahamas, The, 200
 Baltimore, Lord, 185
 Banda Oriental, 206
 Banner of the Devil, The, 211
 Bannerets, 22
 Bannerols, 12, 13, 19
 Banners, 4, 13
 Bar, Sir John de, 15
 Barbados, 105
 Barcelona, 229
 Bardolph, Sir Hugh, 15
 Barré, Colonel, 187
 Barrow-in-Furness, 116
 Barrow Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Basel, 231
 Batavian Republic, The, 238
 Bath, Knights of the, 16
 Battle-rolls, 78
 Bavaria, 239
 Bayeux candlemakers, 20
 Bayeux Tapestry, The, 25

 Beatitudes of the Knights of St. John, 111
 Beaufort portcullis, The, 28
 Beauséant, 6
 Bedford Grammar School, 131
 Bedfordshire Regiment, 84
 Bedr, The Battle of, 47
 Bees, The Golden, 221, 226
 Belgium, 238
 Bell Rock lighthouse, The, 100
 Berkshire, 118
 Berkshire Regiment, 92
 Bermuda, 103
 Berne, 231
 Beverley, Banner of, 8
 Bibby line, 138
 Black flag, The, 32
 Black Prince, The, 18, 23
 Black Watch (Royal Highlanders), The, 90
 Blake, Robert, 57, 144
 Bloody Banner, The, 30
 Blue Anchor line, 138
 Blue Blanket, The, 51
 Board of Trade flag, 99
 Boat clubs, 131
 Bœotia, The bull of, 2
 Bohemia, 233
 Bolivia, 204
 Bonfire signals, 140
 Boots as device, 20
 Border Regiment, The, 87
 Boscawen's signals, 147
 Boston mint, The, 185
 Bosworth Field, 12
 Botetourte, Sir John, 15
 Bothwell Brig, Battle of, 52
 Bouvines, 18, 180, 221
 Brabant, 230, 238
 Bradford, 117
 Braganza badges, 80
 Brazil, 207

- Bremen, 239
- Brighton, 115
- Brighton Sailing Club, 131
- Bristol, 116
- Britannia as badge, 83
- Britannia's racing flag, 130
- British and African line, 137
- British colours, The, 133
- British Columbia, 103
- British East Africa, 106
- British Guiana, 105
- British Honduras, 104
- British India line, 136
- British North Borneo, 109
- Broad arrow, The, 28
- Brooke, Sir James, 109
- Brunswick, 239
- Buckhurst Hill Club, 133
- Buckinghamshire, 118
- Buckles as device, 20
- Bufs (East Kent), The, 81
- Buironfosse, Battle of, 17
- Bulgaria, 235
- Bunting, 29
- Burgees, Yacht, 122
- Burgundy, 223, 228, 229, 230
- Burma, 215
- Bury St. Edmunds, 117
- Buttercup's flag, 131
- Buttons as bullets, 93
- Cabot, 182
- Cambridge Boat Clubs, 132
- Cambridge Flag, The, 190
- Cambridgeshire, 118
- Cameron Highlanders, 96
- Camp colours, 74
- Campbell badge, 97
- Canada, 103, 183, 187
- Canadian Northern line, 137
- Canadian Pacific line, 137
- Canadians, Royal, 97
- Candles as device, 20
- Canterbury, 118
- Cape Colony, 106
- Cardiff, 116
- Cardinal's flag, A, 230
- Carlaverock, The Roll of, 14
- Cartier, 183
- Castile, 228
- Casks as device, 21
- Castle as badge, 28
- Castle of Edinburgh, The, 86
- Castle of Exeter, The, 83
- Castles, The five, 79
- Cavalier colours, 135
- Cavalry standards, 73, 77
- Cecil's signals, 143
- Centaur as badge, 28
- Ceylon, 110
- Champagne, Regiment of, 223
- Chandos, Sir John, 18, 23
- Channel Islands Yacht Club, The Royal, 123
- Chape of St. Martin, The, 219
- Charles the Bold, 229
- Charles I and the Union, 56
- Charles II and the Shilling, 185
- Chelsea Hospital, Colours at, 5
- Chesapeake, The, 161, 192
- Cheshire, 118
- Cheshire Regiment, The, 85
- Chichester, 118
- Chile, 205
- China, 216
- China Merchant line, 138
- Chinese dragon, 80, 87, 94
- Chrysanthemum, The, 217
- Cinque Ports flag, The, 99
- Cinque Ports Yacht Club, The Royal, 123
- Civil War mottoes, 31
- Clan line, 138

- Clive's motto, 98
 Clothworkers' banner, 21
 Cloves as device, 21
 Clovis, 219
 Clyde Yacht Club, Royal, 123
 Coldstream Guards, 76
 College rowing clubs, 131
 Colombia, 203
 Colonies, Badges of the, 101
 Colours, Army, 75
 Colours burnt and ashes preserved, 92, 94
 Colours, Hoisting the, 66
 Colours, Improper, 67
 Colours, National, 133
 Colours, Presentation of, 3
 Colram School flag, 194
 Columbia, British, 103
 Columbus, 104, 182, 200
 Commercial Code, The, 162
 Commonwealth flags, 55, 58
 Company banners, 20
 Compass signals, 147, 173
 Compasses as device, 20
 Confederate flags, 197
 Connaught Rangers, The, 96
 Constantine, Labarum of, 3, 4
 Constantinople, 212
 Coins of Baltimore, 185
 Colonial Regiment, The first for Imperial Service, 97
 Cook Islands, 110
 Copeland, Sir John de, 22
 Corinth, The pegasus of, 2
 Corinthian Yacht Club, The Royal, 123
 Cork Shipping line, 137
 Cork Yacht Club, Royal, 123
 Cornet, 149, 162
 Cornwall, 118
 Costa Rica, 203
 Counterchange, 64
 County cricket clubs, 132
 Courtenay, Sir Hugh de, 15
 Covenanters, Flags of the, 51
 Craudon the limit of the narrow seas, 33
 Crescent, The, 212
 Crescent and star, The, 28
 Cresset as badge, 28
 Cressy, The Battle of, 220
 Crete, 2, 235
 Cricket clubs, 132
 Cromwell, Funeral of, 25
 Cromwell's standard, 59
 Crown in burgee, The, 123
 Crown of Hugh Capet, 222
 Crowns of Ireland, The, 41
 Crusaders, Banners of the, 4
 Cuba, 200
 Cumberland Fleet, 120, 127, 128
 Cunard line, 136, 137
 Cup as device, 20
 Customs flags, The, 99
 Cuthbert, St., Banner of, 8
 Cyprus, 110
 Dalmatia, 233
 Danes, The raven of the, 3
 Dannebrog, 237
 Dart Yacht Club, Royal, 125
 Dartmouth, 116
 Daubernon, Sir John, 24
 Death's head, The, 32
 Decorations, Flags as, 70
 Denis, St., 8
 Denmark, 237
 Derbyshire, 118
 Devitt and Moore's flag, 136
 Devonshire, 118
 Devonshire Regiment, 83
 Diana, Crescent of, 212
 Die-hards, The, 93

- Dinner napkin, The, 129
 Dipping the flag, 32
 Distant signalling, 140, 176
 Distress signal, 64, 129
 Dominican Republic, 200
 Dorchester, 118
 Dorset Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 125
 Dorsetshire, 118
 Dorsetshire Regiment, The, 89
 Douglas standard, The, 11
 Dragon, Chinese, 84
 Dragon of Parthia, The, 3
 Dragon of the Buffs, The, 81
 Dragon of Wales, The, 3
 Dragons, The three, 80
 Dragoon Guards, 29, 77
 Dragoon guidons, 29
 Drapers' banner, 21
 Drum banners, 99
 Dublin Fusiliers, Royal, 98
 Ducal line, 137
 Dudley, 117
 Dudley, Lady, 9
 Duke of Cambridge's Own
 (Middlesex Regiment), 93
 Duke of Cornwall's Light In-
 fantry, The, 87
 Duke of Edinburgh's (Wilt-
 shire Regiment), The, 93
 Duke of Wellington's (West
 Riding Regiment), 74, 87
 Duncan's signals, 151
 Durham, Banner of, 8
 Durham Light Infantry, 94
 Dust signals, 140
 Dutch colours, The, 133
 Dutch East India Company,
 184
 Dutch flag in Paraguay, 206
 Dutch flag in Russia, The,
 235
 Dutch West India Company,
 184
 Eagle, The American, 194
 Eagle, The Roman, 2
 Eagles, The French, 226
 East Africa, 106
 East India Company, 35, 188,
 189
 East Lancashire Regiment,
 The, 87
 East Surrey Regiment, 87
 East Yorkshire Regiment, 84
 Eastern Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 125
 Eastern Yacht Club (U.S.),
 199
 Ecuador, 204
 Edinburgh, 115
 Edinburgh castle, 79
 Edinburgh cathedral, Colours
 in, 4, 98
 Edinburgh Trained Bands, 50
 Edward, St., Banner of, 7
 Edward I, 8, 28, 32
 Edward II, badge, 28
 Edward III, 10, 28
 Edward IV, 11, 28
 Edward V, Badge of, 28
 Edward VI, 19, 28
 Egeria's flag, 130
 Eggs as device, 21
 Egypt, 2, 210
 Electoral bonnet, The, 45
 Elephant, The, 80
 Elephant caparisoned, 97
 Elephant flags, The, 94
 Elephant, The white, 215
 Elephant with howdah, 87
 Elizabeth, Queen, 5, 19, 28
 England, Badge of, 29
 England, Banner of, 6

- England, National flag of, 50
 England, The lions of, 37
 English colours, The, 133
 English flag in America, 182
 Ensign at masthead, 129
 Ensign, The blue, 65, 68
 Ensign, The red, 56, 69
 Ensign, The white, 65, 67
 Ensign-bearers, 18
 Ensigns, Four, 119
 Ensigns, Size of, 19, 69
 Ensigns, The three, 65
 Erskine, Sir William, 24
 Escarbuncle as badge, 28
 Essex, 118
 Essex Cricket Club, 133
 Essex Regiment, The, 92
 Etiquette of flags, 70
 Eton Rowing Club, 131
 European flags, 219
 Exeter castle, 79
 Eye as device, 20

 Facings, 78
 Falcon and fetterlock, The, 28
 Falcon and sceptre, The, 28
 Falkland Islands, 105
 Feather as badge, 28
 Feather, The white, 88
 Federated Malay States, 109
 Fenwick flag, The, 52
 Fighting Instructions, 142
 Fiji, 108
 Files as device, 20
 Fimbriation, 63
 Fiona's flag, 130
 Fire signals, 140
 Fisherman's code, The, 178
 Fishmongers' banner, 21
 Flag, Derivation of, 18
 Flag-designing, 30
 Flag-wagging, 180

 Flags, Authorities for, 27
 Flags made compulsory, 32
 Flanders, 229
 Fleur-de-lis (*see* Lilies)
 Flodden, Battle of, 8
 Flower badges, 28
 Fontenoy wreath, The, 87
 Football clubs, 133
 Fork as device, 20
 Forth Yacht Club, Royal, 125
 France, 219
 France Ancient and Modern, 43
 Francis I, 223
 Franklin, Benjamin, 189
 French code, The, 166
 French colours, The, 133
 French cross, The, 222
 French Protestant Colony, The, 208
 Friendly Islands, The, 110
 Funeral flags, 8, 9, 12, 19, 25
 Funnel markings, 135
 Fusil, The, 82
 Fusiliers, The Royal (City of London Regiment), 82

 Galicia, 233
 Gambia, 106
 Gardeners' banner, 21
 Garter, Knights of the, 16
 Gateshead, 115
 Gauls, Insignia of the, 3
 Geneva, 232
 Geneva cross, The, 232
 Geometrical signals, 176
 George and Dragon, The, 82
 George III, 45
 Germany, 240
 Gibraltar, Castle of, 79
 Gibraltar, Flag of, 111
 Glarus, 231

- Glasgow, City of, 112
 Glen line, 138
 Gloucestershire Regiment, 87
 Gold Coast, 106
 Golden Sun, The, 222
 Goldsmiths' banner, 21
 Gomez, 182
 Gonfalons, 22
 Gordon Highlanders, The, 95
 Goring, Sir William, 25
 Grandison, Sir William, 15
 Grange Cricket Club, 133
 Greece, 2, 234
 Green flag, The, 32
 Green's flag, 135
 Grenada, 105
 Grenadier Guards, 75
 Grenville, Sir Richard, 183
 Greyhound as badge, 28
 Grimsby, 115
 Grocers' banner, 21
 Guards, The, 74, 75
 Guatemala, 201
 Guernsey, 111
 Guiana, British, 105
 Guidons, 29, 73
 Guild banners, 20
 Guildford, 118
 Guinea Company, The, 35
 Guy, Count of Flanders, 32

 Haberdashers' banner, 21
 Hainault feather, The, 28
 Halifax, 117
 Half-mast, Flags at, 32
 Hamburg, 239
 Hammer as device, 20
 Hampshire, 118
 Hampshire Regiment, The, 89
 Hampshire Rovers Cricket Club, 133
 Hampstead Cricket Club, 133

 Hampton Court, 27
 Hanover, 239
 Hanoverian Arms, 45
 Hanseatic League, The, 238
 Harfleur, 17, 25
 Harp of Ireland, The, 41
 Harp on the Union, The, 59
 Harwich Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 125
 Hastings, 115
 Hastings, Battle of, 4
 Hawke's signals, 147
 Hayti, 200
 Helena, St., 106
 Heligoland, 36
 Heliograph, The Indian, 140
 Henry II, 28, 38
 Henry III, badge, 28
 Henry IV, badges, 28
 Henry V, 7, 11, 28
 Henry VI, badges, 28
 Henry VII, 11, 19, 28
 Henry VIII, badges, 28
 Hertfordshire, 118
 Hesse, 239
 Highland Light Infantry, 94
 Highland Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 125
 Hispaniola, 200
 Holdeston, Sir John de, 15
 Holland, 237
 Holy Ghost, Banner of the, 51
 Honduras, 202
 Honduras, British, 104
 Hong Kong, 109
 Honour, Flags of, 234
 Honours on Regimental col-
 ours, 78
 Hooks as device, 21
 Horse of the Jutes, The, 3
 Horse of Westphalia, 45
 Horse, The Hanover, 79, 85

- Horse Guards, Royal, 77
 Hospital clubs, 133
 Hospitallers, Flag of, 6, 110
 Houlder line, 138
 House flags, 135
 Howard, Lord William, 34
 Howe's signals, 150
 Huddersfield, 117
 Hudson, 182, 184
 Huguenots at Rio, The, 208
 Hull, 115
 Humboldt quoted, 107
 Hungary, 233
 Huntingdonshire, 118

 India, The Viceroy's flag, 101
 Indian Marine, The, 101, 110
 Indian Maritime Govern-
 ments, 110
 Indian sign-language, 139
 Infantry colours, 78
 Ingots as device, 21
 Inniskilling castle, The, 79
 Inniskilling Dragoons, The, 78
 Inniskilling Fusiliers, The
 Royal, 86
 Inscriptions, 30
 International Code, The, 167
 Invalides, The, 6, 222
 Ipswich, 115
 Ireland, 29, 41, 101
 Irish Guards, 76
 Irish Lights, The, 101
 Irish Fusiliers, Royal, 96
 Irish Regiment, The Royal,
 84
 Irish Yacht Club, Royal, 124
 Iron Cross, The, 6, 240
 Ironmongers' banner, 21
 Islam, The banner of, 4
 Israelites, Insignia of the, 4
 Italy, 201, 232

 Jamaica, 104
 Japan, 217
 Jellalabad crown, The, 84
 Jersey, 111
 Jervis's signals, 151
 Jews, The, 4
 Joan of Arc's banner, 223
 John, King, badge, 28
 John of Gaunt, 33
 Jullanar's flag, 130
 Junior Thames Sailing Club,
 The, 131
 Jutes, White horse of the, 3

 Kasan, 235
 Kempenfelt's signals, 148
 Kent, 3, 118
 Kent Cricket Club, 133
 Keys as device, 20
 Kieff, 235
 King's Colour, The, 62, 73,
 74, 183
 King's Own (Royal Lan-
 caster), The, 81
 King's Own Scottish Bor-
 derers, The, 86
 King's Own (Yorkshire Light
 Infantry), The, 93
 King's, The, (Liverpool Regi-
 ment), 83
 King's (Shropshire Light In-
 fantry), The, 93
 Kingston Rowing Club, 131
 Knickerbocker Yacht Club,
 The, 199
 Knighthood, Orders of, 6, 16
 Knights of St. John, 6, 110
 Knowles's signals, 148
 Korea, 217

 Labarum, The, 3
 Labuan, 109

- Lancashire Cricket Club, 133
 Lancashire Fusiliers, The, 85
 Lance pennon, The, 25
 Laval trade banners, 20
 Leander Rowing Club, 131
 Leeds, 117
 Leeward Islands, 104
 Leicestershire Regiment, 84
 Leinster Regiment, 97
 Leith, 115
 Lespagnols-sur-mer, 33
 Letter-signalling, 166
 Lewes, Battle of, 8
 Liberia, 210
 Liberty, Figure of, 238
 Liberty Tree, The, 185, 187
 Life Guards, Standards, 77
 Lilies, The, 28, 43, 219, 221, 224
 Lincoln, 116
 Lincolnshire Regiment, The, 83
 Lion of Scotland, The, 38
 Lions of England, The, 37
 Liverpool, 116
 Liverpool Regiment, The, 83
 Livery companies, The, 21
 Lloyd's flags, 99
 London, City of, 112
 London County Council, 137
 London, Port of, 99
 London Rowing Club, 131
 London Sailing Club, 131
 London Trained Bands, 50
 London Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Londonderry, Arms of, 112
 Lord Mayor's Show, 21, 25
 Lords Lieutenant, 99
 Loudun lawyers' banner, 20
 Louis XI, 223
 Louisburg, 187
 Lower Thames Rowing Club, The, 131
 Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, The, 92
 Lucerne, 231
 Lucia, St., 105
 Lübeck, 239
 Lynn's code, 162
 Maccabees, Standard of the, 4
 Mackenzie badge, The, 95
 Mahogany colony, The, 104
 Malay States, 109
 Malta, 110
 Maltese Cross, The, 6, 110
 Man, Isle of, 111
 Manchester, Arms of, 117
 Manchester Regiment, The, 93
 Manitoba, 103
 Maple leaf, The, 80
 Marryat's code, 161
 Mary of Gueldres, 51
 Mary I, badge, 28
 Maryland coins, 185
 Maryland, The African, 210
 Marylebone Cricket Club, 133
 Massachusetts coins, 185
 Massachusetts flag, 188
 Mast-head signalling, 177
 Mauritius, 106
 Mayflower, The, 184, 209
 Meal pennant, The, 129
 Mecklenburg, 239
 Mercers' banner, 21
 Merchant Taylors' banner, 21
 Mersey Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Mexico, 201
 Michael, St. and St. George, Knights of, 16
 Middlesbrough, 115
 Middlesex, 117

- Middlesex Cricket Club, 132
 Military flags of French Republic, 226
 Military officers afloat, 99
 Military Union, The, 62
 Mohammed's banner, 4, 198
 Monaco, 233
 Monck's signals, 144
 Money Wigram's flag, 135
 Monmouthshire Light Infantry, The, 91
 Montenegro, 234
 Montfort, Banner of De, 16
 Montfort, Simon de, 8
 Monthermer, Sir Ralph de, 15
 Moors in Spain, The, 228
 Morocco, 211
 Morse code, The, 181
 Moss line, 137
 Mote Park Cricket Club, 133
 Mottoes on flags, 30
 Moulsey Rowing Club, 131
 Mouths as device, 20
 Munster Fusiliers, Royal, 97
 Mural crown, The, 80
 Mutiny flag, 31

 Najara, The Battle of, 23
 Names of flags, 12
 Naples, 233
 Napoleon and the Italian flag, 233
 Napoleon at Auch, 224
 Nassau, Arms of, 44
 Nassau, The lion of, 79
 National colours, 133
 Naval crown, The, 80, 87, 90
 Naval Ordnance Department, The, 99
 Naval signals, 143
 Naval victory recorded on military colour, 90

 Navarre, Regiment of, 223
 Negri Sembilan, 110
 Nelson, Funeral of, 19
 Nelson's signals, 153
 Netherlands, The, 237
 Neville's Cross, Battle of, 8
 New Brunswick, 103
 New England flag, The, 186
 New Granada, 203
 New Guinea, 109
 New South Wales, 108
 New York State, Flag of, 188, 196
 New York Yacht Club, 199
 New Zealand, 108
 Newcastle Rowing Club, 131
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, 115
 Newfoundland, 102
 Newport, 116
 Nicaragua, 202
 Niger, Flag of H.M.S., 31
 Nigeria, 106
 Niort metal-workers, 20
 Nisbet quoted, 40
 Norfolk Regiment, The, 83
 North Borneo, British, 109
 North German Confederation, The, 239
 North Sea Fishery, 178
 North Staffordshire Regiment, The, 94
 Northallerton, Battle of, 8
 Northamptonshire, 118
 Northamptonshire Regiment, The, 92
 Northern Lights, 56, 100
 Northern Yacht Club, The Royal, 125
 Northumberland, Duchess of, 9
 Northumberland Fusiliers, The, 82, 95
 Norway, 236

- Nottingham Rowing Club, 131
 Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment, The, 92
 Nova Scotia, 103
 Novgorod, 235
 Number flags for racing, 128
 Nyasaland, 106

 Obsolete flags, 35
 Omdurman banner, The, 211
 Ontario, 103
 Orange Free State, The, 211
 Orange River Colony, 106
 Ordnance boats, 74
 Ordnance Departments, 75, 99
 Orient line, 137
 Oriflamme, The, 8, 220, 223
 Otho, Count of Gueldres, 16
 Ottoman flag, The, 212
 Ourique, The Battle of, 230
 Oxford, 117
 Oxford Boat Clubs, 132
 Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, 91

 Pa-Kwa, The, 217
 Pacific Islands, 109
 Pahang, 110
 Pallingswick Cricket Club, 133
 Panama, 203
 Papal States, 30, 36, 233
 Papua, 109
 Paraguay, 206
 Paris banner, The, 223
 Parthia, The dragon of, 3
 Party colours, 134
 Paschal Lamb, The, 80
 Passion, Banner of the, 8
 Paying-off pennant, The, 26
 Peloponnesus, The tortoise of, 2
 Pencels, 13, 25

 Pendants, *see* Pennants
 Peninsular and Oriental line, The, 136
 Pennant, The white, 73
 Pennants, 26
 Pennoncelles, 25
 Pennons, 24
 Pensil, The, 13
 Penzance, 117
 Pepperell, Sir William, 187
 Perak, 109
 Percy badge, The, 9
 Percy, Sir Henri de, 15
 Percy standard, The, 9
 Permutations, 164, 165, 169
 Persia, 2, 214
 Peru, 204
 Peter the Great, 236
 Pheon as badge, 28
 Philip Augustus, 221
 Phillipps's code, 162
 Pilgrim Fathers, 184, 209
 Pilot signals, 171
 Pine Tree, The, 185
 Piping crow as badge, 108
 Pirate flag, 32
 Plantagenet badge, 28
 Pliny quoted, 2
 Plymouth, 116
 Plymouth Rock, 184, 209
 Poitiers, Battle of, 47, 221
 Poland, 235
 Political colours, 134
 Pomerania, 239
 Ponce de Leon, 182
 Popham's code, 152
 Portsmouth Corinthian Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Portugal, 230
 Post-horn as device, 73
 Post Office flag, The, 99
 Presentation of colours, 3

- Presidential standard of the United States, 183
 Prince Albert's (Somerset Light Infantry), 84
 Prince Edward Island, 103
 Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians), The, 97
 Prince of Wales's (North Staffordshire Regiment), The, 94
 Prince of Wales's Own (West Yorkshire Regiment), The, 84
 Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment), 89
 Princess Charlotte of Wales's (Royal Berkshire Regiment), The, 92
 Princess Louise's (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), 97
 Princess Victoria's (Royal Irish Fusiliers), 96
 Private Banks Club, 133
 Privateer jack, 110
 Protectorate flags, 58
 Protest signal, 129
 Prussia, 239

 Quarantine flag, 32
 Quebec, Province of, 102
 Queen Mab's flag, 131
 Queen's Cup, The, 130
 Queen's (Royal West Surrey), The, 80
 Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, The, 96
 Queen's Own (Royal West Kent), The, 92
 Queensland, 108
 Quezal, The, 201

 Racing flags, 127
 Radley Rowing Club, 131
 Railway signalling, 179
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 142, 183
 Raper's code, 162
 Rarotonga, 110
 Raven of the Danes, The, 3
 Reading, 118
 Reading Rowing Club, 131
 Red Cross flag, The, 32, 232
 Red flag, The, 31
 Red Star line, 136
 Red, White and Blue, The, 134
 Redbridge, The, 152
 Regatta match card, 129
 Regimental colour, The, 74
 Regiments without colours, 73
 Restoration flags, 55
 Reynold's code, 162
 Rhode Island flag, 188
 Rhodesia, 106
 Richard I, 28, 38, 213
 Richard II, 14, 28
 Richard III, badge, 28
 Rider, Sir William de, 15
 Rifle Brigade, The, 92
 Rifle regiments, 99
 Rio Janeiro, 208
 Ripon, Banner of, 8
 Rochdale, 117
 Rochelle locksmiths, 20
 Roderick, King, 228
 Rogers's code, 162
 Rohde's code, 162
 Rolls of Arms, 14
 Rome, Standards of, 2
 Rooke's signals, 146
 Rose as badge, 28
 Rose, The slipped, 79.
 Roses of Minden, The, 85

- Ross-shire Buffs, The, 95
 Rouen, Capture of, 7, 48, 230
 Roundhead colours, 135
 Rowing clubs, 131
 Royal badges, The, 28
 Royal Dragoons, The, 78
 Royal Mail line, 136
 Royal Standard, The, 16, 37, 42
 Rugby Union flags, 133
 Rumania, 235
 Russell's signals, 145
 Russia, 235
 Rutland, 118
 .
 Sail-signalling, 142, 177
 Sailing clubs, Flags of, 131
 Sails as banners, 16
 St. Andrew, 52, 235
 St. Andrew, The cross of, 51
 St. Denis, The banner of, 220
 St. Edward, 7, 16
 St. Edmund, 16
 St. Gall, 231
 St. George, 6, 7, 16, 47, 231
 St. George, his history, 48
 St. George Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 St. George's Cross a papistical symbol, 184
 St. John, Knights of, 6, 110
 St. Louis, 220, 222
 St. Martin, 219
 St. Patrick, 60
 St. Patrick, Cross of, 60
 St. Patrick, Knights of, 16
 St. Peter, Banner of, 8
 St. Vincent, 105
 St. Wilfrid, Banner of, 8
 Sale, Sir Robert, 84
 Salters' banner, 21
 Saltire, The red, 59
 Saluting, 32
 Saluting colour, The, 74
 Salvador, 202
 Samos, 235
 San Francisco Yacht Club, 199
 San Salvador, 200
 Sandwich, 99
 Saracens, The, and the Crescent, 213
 Sarawak, 109
 Sardinia, 233
 Satanita's flag, 130
 Saviours of India, The, 95
 Savoy, 36
 Savoy Cross, The, 232
 Saxony, 239
 School Rowing Clubs, 131
 Scotland, Badge of, 29
 Scotland, The lion of, 38
 Scots and the Union, 54, 64
 Scots Fusiliers, The Royal, 85
 Scots Greys, The, 78
 Scots Guards, 76
 Scots, The Royal, 79, 80
 Scotswood Rowing Club, 131
 Scottish colours, The, 133
 Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's), 95
 Selangor, 110
 Serbia, 234
 Seychelles, 106
 Shaw Savill line, 137
 Shears as device, 20
 Sherwood Foresters (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment), The, 92
 Ship-owners' flags, 135
 Shoes as device, 20
 Shrewsbury, 117
 Siam, 215
 Sicilian Vespers, The, 139

- Sierra Leone, 106
Signal flags, 139
Signalling, Mode of, 173
Skinners' banner, 21
Skull and crossbones, 32
Smith, Colonel John, 23
Smoke signals, 140
Society banners, 22
Somaliland, 106
Somerset Light Infantry, 84
Somersetshire, 118
Sons of Liberty, 187
South Africa, 106
South Australia, 108
South Carolina flag, 188
South Lancashire Regiment,
The, 89
South Shields, 115
South Staffordshire Regi-
ment, The, 89
South Wales Borderers, 86
Southampton, 116
Southampton Yacht Club,
The Royal, 126
Southern Cross, The, 107, 208
Southern Cross, The Con-
federate, 197
Sovereignty of the Seas, 33
Spade as device, 21
Spain, 227
Spanish flag in America, 182
Spencer Cricket Club, 133
Sphinx, The, 80
Spoon as device, 20
Squadrons of the Navy, 143
Squire's code, 162
Stafford standard, The, 10
Stamp Bill, The, 187
Standard defined, 9
Standard of the United States,
The, 183
Standard, The Royal, 37
Standards, Military, 29, 73, 77
Standards, Sizes of, 19, 29
Star and Crescent, The, 213
Star-spangled banner, The, 193
Stars and Bars, The, 197
Stars and Stripes, The, 191
State flags, American, 195
States of the Church, 30, 36,
233
Stephen, King, badges, 28
Storm signalling, 179
Straits Settlements, 109
Streamers, 26
Suffolk Regiment, The, 83
Sun in splendour as badge, 28
Sun, The Golden, 222
Sunderland, 115
Supporters, The Royal, 46
Surrey, 118
Sussex, 118
Sussex Regiment, Royal, 88
Sutherland badge, The, 97
Swan of the Bohuns, The, 28
Swan, The black, as badge, 108
Sweden, 236
Swedes in America, The, 184
Switzerland, 231
Tasmania, 108
Taunton, 117
Tea-ship flag, The, 188, 190
Tea-ships at Boston, 188
Teasel as device, 21
Telegraph, The, 142
Templar Knights, 6
Temple, Sir Thomas, 185
Tents as device, 21
Teutonic Knights, The, 6, 240
Thames Rowing Club, 131
Thames Sailing Club, 131
Thames Yacht Club, The
Royal, 127

- Thermopylæ, The, 135
 Thin red line, The, 97
 Thistle as badge, 28
 Three regimental colours, 95
 Ticino, 231
 Tiger, The, 80
 Toads, The Golden, 219
 Toggle, The, 30
 Tonga, 110
 Topsails, Lowering, 33
 Tory colours, 134
 Touches, Sir Emlam, 15
 Towing signals, 172
 Trafalgar, Nelson at, 66
 Trafalgar signal, The, 155
 Trained Bands, 50
 Transport Service, The, 99
 Transvaal, 106, 211
 Tressure, The, 39
 Tricolour, The Dutch, 237
 Tricolour, The French, 224
 Trinidad, 105
 Trinity, Banner of the, 7, 8
 Trinity House flags, 100
 Trowels as device, 20
 Tudor livery colours, The, 11
 Tug, The, 214
 Tughra, The, 213
 Tunis, 211
 Turkey, 212
 Turks and Caicos Islands, 104
 Tuscany, 36, 233
 Twickenham Rowing Club,
 The, 131
 Tyne Rowing Club, 131
 Tyrol, 233
 Uffa, Crown of, 222
 Ulster Yacht Club, Royal, 125
 Unicorns, The, 46
 Union flag, Dimensions of
 the, 64
 Union flag, The first, 51
 Union flag, The second, 55
 Union flag, The third, 61
 Union flag, The old, still
 afloat, 56
 Union for warships only, 56
 Union-Castle line, 137
 Union Jack, First official men-
 tion of, 56
 Union Jack, Origin of the
 term, 9, 57
 Union with badge, 101
 United Service Museum, 5,
 31, 149
 United Services Club, 133
 University Boat clubs, 132
 Uri, 231
 Uruguay, 206
 Valence, Sir Aymer de, 15
 Valkyrie's flag, 130
 Vanduara's flag, 131
 Venezuela, 203
 Venice, 36
 Verrazano, 182
 Vexillum, The, 3
 Victoria, Badge of, 108
 Victoria Cross, The, 111
 Victoria Yacht Club, The
 Royal, 123
 Villegagnon, Colony of, 208
 Vintners' banner, 21
 Virginia founded, 183
 Virgin Mary, Banner of the, 8
 Voldermirz, 235
 Waldeck, 239
 Waldemar, 237
 Wales, badge of, 29
 Wales, The dragon of, 3
 Walker's code, 162
 War Office flag, The, 99

- Warwick streamer, The, 27
 Warwickshire County Cricket Club, 133
 Warwickshire, The Royal, 82
 Washington's Arms, 182, 191
 Watson's code, 162
 Weather signalling, 179
 Weihaiwei, 109
 Wellington, Funeral of, 20
 Wellington's motto, 87
 Welsh Fusiliers, Royal, 85
 Welsh Yacht Club, Royal, 125
 Welsh Regiment, The, 90
 Wessex, The dragon of, 3
 West Africa, 106
 West Kent, The Royal, 92
 West Riding Regiment, The, 74, 87
 West Yorkshire Regiment, The, 84
 Western Australia, 108
 Western Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Western Yacht Clubs, The two, 120
 Westminster, City of, 112
 Weymouth, 116
 Whig colours, 134
 Whip, The, 26, 73
 White cross, The, 222
 White ensign, The, 119
 White feather, The, 88
 White flag, The, 32
 White hart as badge, 28
 White Star line, 136
 William the Conqueror's banner, 4
 William Rufus, badge, 28
 William III, 44
 William and Mary, 44
 William the Lion, 38
 Wilson line, 137
 Wiltshire, 118
 Wiltshire Regiment, The, 93
 Winchester, 117
 Windward Islands, 105
 Winning flags, 127
 Witu, 110
 Wood stock as badge, 28
 Worcestershire Regiment, 87
 Wreck flag, The, 32
 Württemberg, 239
 Yacht Clubs, 119
 Yacht Clubs, American, 199
 Yacht Squadron, Royal, 119
 Yacht Squadron burgee, 122
 Yacht's flags, A, 129
 Yankee Doodle, 134
 Yarmouth, 115
 Yellow flag, The, 32
 Yeomanry guidons, 73
 York, 117
 York, Banner of, 8
 York and Lancaster Regiment, The, 94
 York, Duke of, his signals, 144
 York Rowing Club, 131
 Yorkshire County Cricket Club, 133
 Yorkshire Light Infantry, The, 93
 Yorkshire Regiment, The, 85
 Yorkshire Yacht Club, The Royal, 126
 Ypres goldsmiths' banner, 20
 Zingari Cricket Club, 133

set the pattern for very many others. Wichern was a great believer in the power of the Word of God and in music. Every birthday in the house must be commemorated, and no teacher who could not enter into the plays of childhood was considered fit to come in contact with them. In France the *Colonie Penitentiare Agricole* of Mettray, founded by Demetz, was the pattern upon which many others were developed, though none of them were equal in elaborate organization to it. These marked an epoch in methods of juvenile reformation.

In most German states, legal responsibility begins with the completion of the twelfth year, but up to the eighteenth mitigating circumstances are often taken into account. This period is divided into two equal parts at fifteen, and for both these periods crime increased at a greater rate than the population for the decennium ending 1890, when 15,654 children for the younger, and 26,346 for the older triennium were in various houses of detention. In 1890 out of 381,450 prisoners, 103,641 were between twelve and twenty-one. For offenders during both these periods, petty thefts led all other offenses, and then came in order, concealment, bodily injury, graver thefts, damage to property, insults, falsification of documents, threats, incendiarism, etc.¹ In most countries, ten or twelve years marks the beginning and sixteen (France) or eighteen years (Germany) the completion of responsibility for young delinquents. Before this age special houses of detention for juvenile offenders have, in most civilized lands, been provided. As has often been pointed out, the power to know good from evil is a very different thing from the power to do the right that is recognized, and the former may be a small factor in the restraint of what Despine was the first to describe as the *passional state*, or in overcoming hereditary predisposition. Before the first age children are supposed to be irresponsible, and in some cases, after the latter the severest penalties, such as death and deportation, are rarely inflicted. Special penalties for this youthful period only sometimes exist as reproof in Germany or custody at large in Italy. Not only are judges usually lenient, but in the actual infliction of penalties early age is a ground of mitigation, and special courts, often with privacy, are instituted, and educational con-

¹ Was können die Schule und die Behörden thun, die Zunahme der jugendlichen Vergehen und Verbrechen zu verhüten? W. Pfeifer. Gütersloh, 1894.

ditions are often enforced in houses of detention for all under a certain age. In Germany youthful offenders are often sent to reform schools for a definite period after the completion of the sentence of confinement, and the duration of this compulsory education is left to a special board, which makes it dependent upon the progress and conduct of the pupil.¹

The right of the state to assume the educational functions of the parents wherever there is grave danger of moral desolation, whether the child has done a penal act or not, is now generally insisted upon in Germany. Aschrott² pleads for raising the age of legal responsibility to the end of the fourteenth year, and for compulsory education of all youth between fourteen and eighteen, who thus come under the control of the state.

Rylands concludes that "there is one way, and one only, by which embryo criminals may be caught and dealt with before inherited tendencies have had time to develop or evil example to make itself felt, and that is for the State to take under its own absolute control all children found in the streets without visible means of subsistence, or who seem to be neglected by their parents. If the State is to interfere in the matter at all, it can not logically stop short of this." Enforced habits of regular industry are his panacea.

Reddersen³ deems it indispensable for the reduction of crime and the development of virtue and civilization, that all bad and stupid or recalcitrant children, even one of which may sap a teacher's energy, should be removed at once from the school before they poison the spirit of an entire class. In their growing numbers and abandon, he sees the chief cause of the progressive feralization of our youth. Perhaps, he thinks, a restoration of some of the stern *patria potestas* of ancient heathen Rome might be a wholesome tonic, but pleads that the moral education of the child is not a subjective private right of the parent, but his first and highest ethical duty to the child, to society, and to the state. If he fail, the latter must intervene.

¹ Holtzendorff u. Jagemann: Handbuch des Gefängniswesens. Vol. ii, p. 320.

² Die Behandlung der verwahrlosten und verbrecherischen Jugend und Vorschläge zur Reform P. F. Aschrott. Berlin, 1892.

³ Die Behandlung verwahrloster Kinder und jugendlicher Verbrecher. Bremen.

Appelius¹ has drawn up a rather elaborately motivated scheme of a new law for the punishment of juvenile criminals, according to which the local administration may transfer any child up to the age of sixteen to some educational establishment or to a family, and there compulsory education may be continued up to eighteen. Decision in this important matter must be based upon a careful examination, made by experts, and at which also the father or guardian must be heard. Imprisonment for less than a year must be severely solitary. Those sentenced for more than a year may be released provisionally under certain conditions. When imprisonment and education are combined, the first may be reduced one-half at discretion. Actual crime need not have been done to cause committal to these institutions.

Krohne² lays down the following principles: Reform schools should never be connected with youthful prisons. The former should be collective and patterned as far as possible after the family. In such schools, not only the sexes, but the different confessions should, if possible, be separated. The life, food, etc., should be plain and severe, but not actually without enjoyment to which children have a right. Both hand-work and field-work should be provided, and the preponderance of one over the other should be an individual problem. Very careful personal records, measurements, and observations should be kept for each child, special attention should be given to health, and all should be in an atmosphere of religion. Music and drawing should predominate, and communication with outside friends should be determined by individual considerations. The officers of these schools should first of all be good teachers, and all those connected with female institutions should be women.

Hartmann³ insists upon brief sentences to very strict supervision, labor, or study, as the case may be, for juveniles, and would go to any extent to prevent the contagion of crime from contact with older criminals. He devised, in juvenile houses of detention, the following stages of discipline: re-

¹ Die bedingte Verurtheilung und die anderen Ersatzmittel für kurzzeitige Freiheitsstrafen. Cassel, 1891. See also Die Behandlung jugendlicher Verbrecher und verwahrloster Kinder. Berlin, 1892.

² Lehrbuch des Gefängnissskunde. Stuttgart, 1889.

³ Carl C. Hartmann: Der jugendliche Verbrecher im Strafhaue. Hamburg, 1892.

proof; refusal of the free hour in the court; refusal of the right to converse upon walks; removal, in whole or in part, of the disposition of products of their own industry in overtime work; forbidding the latter; forbidding letter-writing; no reception of visits; forcing to sleep on a hard board; refusal of light; isolation; arrest; dark cell; and fetters.

In England "there appears to be a very general conclusion that, both on grounds of mercy and expediency, the short and sharp punishment of a whipping with a birch rod may in many cases be even preferable."¹ This is said to conform to "the double characteristic of all good repression of crime—the minimum of punishment with the maximum of intimidation." Humanity especially requires, this report claims, a vigorous and uncompromising suppression of the cruel and ruffian class of young scuttlers, who have increased in English cities, and who are intolerable nuisances, known in Australia as *larrikins*, in the United States as hoodlums, and in Sweden as young leaguers. No trifling is suitable for this class, who require either flogging, a cell, or prolonged industrial discipline. These young men are intrusive in public places of recreation, and their language is often exceedingly offensive, particularly to women and to children. Vigorous exercise and games are also recommended. Probation officers can do little with these juvenile ruffians.

In England, reformatories are for older youth who have actually committed felony and undergone brief preliminary imprisonment, and are distinguished from industrial schools for younger offenders mostly under twelve, who have not been imprisoned. To the former, children under sixteen may be sentenced, at the magistrate's option, from two to six years, after they have been imprisoned ten days or longer.² On entering the school the superintendent has a serious talk, telling the young culprit that the prison has punished his fault, and that now he has a chance to reform, learn a trade, etc. To the industrial school, children who beg, as well as criminals, may also be sent, but only by order of a judge. In France, parents who wilfully neglect their children or whose bad con-

¹ Juvenile Offenders. A Report based on an inquiry by the Committee of the Howard Association, 1898. London, p. 8.

² The State and its Children, by Gertrude M. Tuckwell. London, 1894.

duct causes them to be taken in charge by the state, thereby forfeit all right and control, and can not even visit their children, whom the state has taken for its wards, unless their character shows improvement.¹ This principle is in successful operation in many States in this country. When children, trained in these institutions or by the boarding-out principle, complete their stay, their instructors seek to find for each one a patron or special friend in the neighborhood, who may be willing to find him employment and give him some kindly oversight, and become a not merely nominal godfather or godmother. In the day feeding-school system, four hours of lessons, five of manual industry, and three good meals constitute each day's routine, but if the child does not attend the forenoon school, dinner is forfeited, and if the afternoon work is missed he has no supper. This has the advantage of helping without breaking up the family life. Some religious instruction is insisted on in almost all English reformatory institutions. In 1896 there were in Great Britain 30,104 boys and 24,845 girls in her 48 reformatory and 144 industrial schools.²

The Massachusetts probation system is as follows: It was developed by citizens who visited the police court to seek out offenders who could be released, for whom they became sureties to the court, and whom they endeavored to reclaim. After some years of experiment, in 1878 a law was passed requiring the appointment of a probation officer. This, in 1891, was made mandatory in every town and by each police and district court. In 1898 the appointment of these officers was given to the Superior Court. It is now proposed to provide a Bureau of Records to coordinate the work of these officers and the police, and allow probation for all persons fined, if they need time for payment, which may be in instalments and to these officers. This would keep out of prison many who should never go there.³ Upon this plan, a judge is empowered on the request of an agent to commit any person under the age of seventeen,

¹ Penological and Preventive Principles, by William Tallack. London, 1889, p. 356 *et seq.*

² See Fortieth Report of these institutions in the Parliamentary Blue Book for 1897.

³ For detailed working of this system, see The Charities Review, April, 1900, p. 84 *et seq.*

convicted before him to the charge of the Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity, until he or she shall attain the age of twenty-one, but with authority to discharge him at any time. The board has great power in such cases. The child may be left with a warning under the supervision of a parent, who is usually fined a small sum; but if there is no improvement in this state of probation, the child is removed from home. More than three-fourths of the children committed are thus returned. The board can remove the child from the parent and commit it to a State school, which is not a criminal institution, and to which no magistrate has the power to commit. The child may be sent to a reformatory or boarded out, with or without payment, in carefully selected homes; orphans may be placed for adoption, but only after trial; or the board can appoint a guardian with full parental powers up to twenty-one, nullifying the power of the real parents.¹ Thus it is sought to lift these youth out of the criminal and pauper class by means of agents, who are unpaid ladies and gentlemen of intelligence, and are thus made the arbiters of the children's fate.

Juvenile criminals, as a class, are inferior in body and mind to normal children, and despite the extravagances of the Lombroso school, they are no doubt more likely to be defective or abnormal, and their social environment is no less inferior. As to their treatment Morrison² thinks them more likely to be unjustly judged by courts than adults, and commends societies for their legal defense, which shall study each case and bring all circumstances before judges. A special office for this purpose has been created in Michigan and elsewhere. In England, up to 1847, juvenile crime was punished as severely as when committed by the most hardened criminals. The very severity of the penalties caused judges often to let children go free. The antiquated practise of fixing a minimum penalty for each offense should be banished from all penal codes for children and offenders in early adolescence, and the largest discretion given to the court. We must also commend the Belgian system of conditional sentence, by which the law warns before it strikes, and which often saves youth from the brand of con-

¹ Children of the State, by Florence Davenport-Hill. N. Y., 1899, p. 226.

² Juvenile Offender, p. 189 *et seq.*

viction. A sentence is conditional, when, if there is no fresh offense within a given time, it is not executed, and statistics show that such an impending sentence is more deterrent than actual imprisonment. Fining, too, is for many cases of juvenile delinquency one of the best of legal penalties. It is unique in that it can be made good if error is discovered. Moreover, it is economical to the state and is more and more taking the place of imprisonment. Of course it chiefly falls on the parent, but may be paid in instalments. The alternative sentence of, e. g., ten dollars for ten days should be so modified that five days and five dollars can be accepted, instead of as now requiring the whole fine to escape a single day of confinement. Fining in work to be done for the city is found wise in some places, and industrial schools, for day work only, in others.

There is very much to be said in favor of corporal punishment for young offenders. Although gradually passing into disuse with capital and other severe forms of punishment, flogging is still a part of the criminal law in England, Scotland, Norway, Denmark, and several colonies.¹ Flogging usually has special safeguards in the form of medical examiners, laws regulating the form and size of the rod, etc., the number of strokes, the presence of friends and parents. Save in Great Britain the prevailing sentiment is probably against it, but there is much to be said in favor of it for certain offenses among boys in the early teens and younger. Dermal pain is far from being the pitiful evil that sentimental and neurasthenic adults regard it, and to flog wisely should not become a lost art, whether with criminals or in normal families, although of course other very different influences should supplement it. Imprisonment is, as a rule, the severest penalty for the young. To be deprived of liberty of motion and contact with the social and material world is bad enough, but such isolation at this age brings temptation to a special form of vice, while the contagion of crime among prison associates and the stigma almost inefaceable, which may actually compel the young convict after his release to revert to companionship where imprisonment is no disgrace, are worse yet. Slavery, banishment, prohibition to live in certain places or permission to reside only in others, interdicting residence in large cities for the young, all kinds

¹ *Juvenile Offender*, p. 212.

of individualization of punishment, sumptuary preceptors, mutilation, all preceded the modern prison, which seems to have been evolved from the monastic rule of sequestering recalcitrant monks in a cell, as early as the sixth century.¹ Perpetual solitude and silence by day and night is a crime against the soul for adults; but is still worse for the immature. Ameliorating the severities of life and shortening the term of detention for good conduct is one of the best of modern developments, and the increasing tendency to return to crime and to the bar of justice, which seems to bear some direct proportion to the comfort of prison life, is one of the worst. As Morrison well urges, the prisoner has all his needs provided for as if he were a child, but generally he has become a criminal simply because he could not satisfy these needs; hence the danger that a good prisoner will make a bad citizen because the personal, industrial, and social discipline is not such as to adjust him to life in society, and imprisonment is less effective for social security than it should be, and for adolescents is very inefficacious. All authorities agree that the age of responsibility and liability should be as late as is compatible with social welfare, and that even while awaiting trial great care should be exercised and special places provided for this detention.

For children all offenses are simply forbidden things, and the distinction between what is wrong or forbidden and what is criminal, and the perspective that differentiates between different crimes comes late, but moral comes even later than intellectual maturity. Again, if children are imprisoned young enough, so that they can return to school later, the fascination of their schoolmates and the imitation impulses endanger others. Young offenders, too, need exceptional care that their physical system should not deteriorate and become still more unfit to bear the strain of life than when they entered. As a class they are badly nourished and weakly, and this is a potent factor in recidivism. They should come out not only able, but disposed to do a regular day's work. Habits of industry are rare in this class, and regularity is an irksome yoke, and houses of detention of all kinds for the young should strive to develop habits of regular labor. Lack of occupation makes the mind as dead and apathetic as the surroundings are dull, and active and

¹ Morrison, p. 230.

stated effort is the only surety against this sad result. The closest relations with outside friends should be cultivated; especially the first hours and days of confinement are the golden time for reconciliations, when self-respect is dejected, and when, besides, memories of friends are most natural. The trouble is that prisons were made for adults, and all the institutions are primarily adapted for them, but as Morrison again wisely says, while the guardians of mature criminals need a disciplinary attitude, those of the young should cultivate an educative temper, and officers should, if possible, be parents, and of children of similar age. Hence on every ground differentiation of buildings, regimen, occupation, and supervision are needed. Administration should be tested not by conduct within, but its effects upon restoration to society. To minimize the great and never entirely avoidable dangers of the first period of liberty, gradual and conditional liberation has already proven its beneficence.

Professor Yoder¹ insists that there are no children incapable of being amended. He found that the age of most frequent commitments to reform schools in 10,000 cases was fifteen, and that the age did not differ for boys and girls. He was unable to determine whether incorrigibles leave school because of their own condition or that of the school, but deems it unfortunate that the age of transition from grammar to high school comes at the stress of adolescence. He is inclined to agree with Swift,² that a period of semicriminality is normal for all healthy boys; that those whose surroundings are bad will continue it, but others will grow away from it as they approach maturity. The incorrigible often seeks the society of younger children, whom he dominates, because he has a new passion for leadership which the teacher should give better direction. The instinct to be an initiative power needs appreciation and direction. The spiritual soil in which such have been trained is exhausted and they need transplanting. It is never so irksome to do over and over again things familiar. In many a schoolroom, a boy's incorrigibility saves him; the fussy martinet and the red tape of school are objects that provoke revolt

¹The Incorrigibles. *Journal of Childhood and Adolescence*, Jan., 1902, pp. 22-34.

²Ped. Sem., March, 1901.

in the healthy soul. It is significant that sixteen is the age when children are most influenced by their teacher.¹ The boy feels that his day has come; he is becoming a man and the girl a woman. Just as gregarious animals are easiest tamed, so the very gang instinct itself is almost a cry of the soul to be influenced, and this instinct can be made to lead to the good as well as to the bad.

Adolescence is the best key to the nature of crime. It is essentially antisocial, selfishness, refusing to submit to the laws of altruism. As the social demand for a larger mutual helpfulness increases, prohibitions multiply. Hence the increase of juvenile crime, so deplored, is not entirely due to city life or growing youthful depravity, but also to the increasing ethical demands of society.²

De Fleury,³ in his interesting discussion of fatigue, indolence, melancholy, anger, etc., believes that many of the distempers of youth are especially susceptible to the douche at different temperatures, to static electricity, to friction with the hair glove, massage, and sun and air cures, and that mechanical stimulation has great power in neurasthenic subjects to awaken vitality, especially when they are downcast and irritable and in the later stages of digestion. He pleads for a new kind of medical morals, and holds that pessimism or the sense that the sum of evil surpasses the sum of good is found in civilized man "in direct proportion to the learned notions or to the sensations of art accumulated in his brain, and in inverse proportion to the intellectual labor expended." The latter only expands self in a healthful way. Thus laziness tends to moral decay, and all weakness brings misery, and neuropathic symptoms need to be met by toning up the muscles. He believes it is possible, in ways hitherto unrealized, to supply new sources of human energy and to strengthen feeble minds to live with intensity, for morality does not consist in qualitative changes of states of mind, but in ardor and energy of living, and thus he holds to a higher hygiene that is to be the morals of the future, give a better normal tone, bring out latent qualities, and cure many moral perversities.

¹ Bell. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec., 1900.

² A. C. Hall: *Crime and Social Progress*. N. Y., 1902, p. 393.

³ *Medicine and the Mind*. London, 1900.

The causation of crime, which the cure seeks to remove, is a problem comparable with the origin of sin and evil. First, of course, comes heredity, bad antenatal conditions, bad homes, unhealthful infancy and childhood, overcrowded slums with their promiscuity and squalor, which are always near the border of lawlessness, and perhaps are the chief cause of crime. A large per cent of juvenile offenders, variously estimated but probably one-tenth of all, are vagrants or without homes, and divorce of parents and illegitimacy seem to be nearly equal as causative agencies. If whatever is physiologically wrong is morally wrong, and whatever is physiologically right is morally right, we have an important ethical suggestion from somatic conditions. There is no doubt that conscious intelligence during a certain early stage of its development tends to deteriorate the strength and infallibility of instinctive processes, so that education is always beset with the danger of interfering with ancestral and congenital tendencies. Its prime object ought to be moralization, but it can not be denied that in conquering ignorance we do not thereby conquer poverty or vice. After the free schools in London were opened there was an increase of juvenile offenders. New kinds of crime, such as forgery, grand larceny, intricate swindling schemes, were doubled, while sneak thieves, drunkards, and pickpockets decreased, and the proportion of educated criminals was greatly augmented.¹ To collect masses of children and cram them with the same unasimilated facts is not education in this sense, and we ought to confess that youthful crime is an expression of educational failure. Illiterate criminals are more likely to be detected, and also to be condemned, than are educated criminals. Every anthropologist knows that the deepest poverty and ignorance among primitive people are in nowise incompatible with honesty, integrity, and virtue. Indeed there is much reason to suspect that the extremes of wealth and poverty are more productive of crime than ignorance, or even intemperance. Educators have no doubt vastly overestimated the moral efficiency of the three R's and forgotten that character in infancy is all instinct; that in childhood it is slowly made over into habits; while at adolescence more than at any other period of life, it can be cultivated through ideals. The dawn of puberty, al-

¹ North American Review, May, 1899.

though perhaps marked by a certain moral hebetude, is soon followed by a stormy period of great agitation, when the very worst and best impulses in the human soul struggle against each other for its possession, and when there is peculiar proneness to be either very good or very bad. As the agitation slowly subsides, it is found that there has been a renaissance of either the best or the worst elements of the soul, if not, indeed of both.

Although pedagogues make vast claims for the moralizing effect of schooling, I can not find a single criminologist who is satisfied with the modern school, while most bring the severest indictments against it for the blind and ignorant assumption that the three R's or any merely intellectual training can moralize. By nature, children are more or less morally blind, and statistics show that between thirteen and sixteen incorrigibility is between two and three times as great as at any other age. It is almost impossible for adults to realize the irresponsibility and even moral neurasthenia incidental to this stage of development. If we reflect what a girl would be if dressed like a boy and leading his life and exposed to the same moral contagion, or what a boy would be if corseted and compelled to live like a girl, perhaps we can realize that whatever rôle heredity plays, the youth who go wrong are, in the vast majority of cases, victims of circumstances or of immaturity, and deserving of both pity and hope. It was this sentiment that impelled Zarnadelli to reconstruct the criminal law of Italy, in this respect, and it was this sympathy that made Rollet a self-constituted advocate, pleading each morning for the twenty or thirty boys and eight or ten girls arrested every day in Paris.

Those smitten with the institution craze or with any extreme correctionalist views will never solve the problem of criminal youths. First of all, they must be carefully and objectively studied, lived with, and understood as in this country Gulick, Johnson, Forbush, and Yoder are doing in different ways, but each with success. Criminaloid youth is more sharply individualized than the common good child, who is less differentiated. Virtue is more uniform and monotonous than sin. There is one right and many wrong ways, hence they need to be individually studied by every paidological method, physical and psychic. Keepers, attendants, and even sponsors who have to

do with these children should be educators with souls full of fatherhood and motherhood, and they should understand that the darkest criminal propensities are frequently offset by the very best qualities; that juvenile murderers are often very tender-hearted to parents, sisters, children, or pets;¹ they should understand that in the criminal constitution there are precisely the same ingredients, although perhaps differently compounded, accentuated, mutually controlled, etc., by the environment, as in themselves, so that to know all would, in the great majority of cases, be to pardon all; that the home sentiments need emphasis; that a little less stress of misery to overcome the effects of economic malaise and, above all, a friend, mentor, adviser are needed.

I incline to think that many children would be better and not worse for reading, provided it can be done in tender years, stories like those of Captain Kidd, Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin, and other gory tales, and perhaps later tales like Eugene Aram, the ophidian medicated novel, Elsie Venner, etc., on the principle of the Aristotelian catharsis to arouse betimes the higher faculties which develop later, and whose function it is to deplete the bad centers and suppress or inhibit their activity. Again, I believe that judicious and incisive scolding is a moral tonic, which is often greatly needed, and if rightly administered would be extremely effective, because it shows the instinctive reaction of the sane conscience against evil deeds and tendencies. Special pedagogic attention should be given to the sentiment of justice, which is almost the beginning of personal morals in boys, and plays should be chosen and encouraged that hold the beam even, regardless of personal wish and interest. Further yet benevolence and its underlying impulse to do more than justice to our associates; to do good in the world; to give pleasure to those about, and not pain, can be directly cultivated. Truth-telling presents a far harder problem, as we have seen. It is no pedagogical triumph to clip the wings of fancy, but effort should be directed almost solely against the cowardly lies, which cover evil, and the heroism of telling the truth and taking the consequences is another of the elements of the moral sense, so complex, so late, and so often permanently crippled. The money sense by all the many means now used

¹ Holendorff: *Psychologie des Mordes*.

for its development in school is the surest safeguard against the most common juvenile crime of theft, and much can be taught by precept, example, and moral regimen of the sacredness of property rights. The regularity of school work and its industry is a valuable moralizing agent, but entirely inadequate and insufficient by itself. Educators must face the fact that the ultimate verdict concerning the utility of the school will be determined, as Talleck well says, by its moral efficiency in saving children from personal vice and crime.

Wherever any source of pollution of school communities occurs, it must be at once and effectively detected, and some artificial elements must be introduced into the environment. In other words, there must be a system of moral orthopedics. Garofalo's¹ new term and principle of "temibility" is perhaps of great service. He would thus designate the quantum of evil feared that is sufficient to restrain criminal impulsion. We can not measure guilt or culpability, which may be of all degrees from nothing to infinity perhaps, but we can to some extent scale the effectiveness of restraint, if criminal impulse is not absolutely irresistible. Pain then must be so organized as to follow and measure the offense by as nearly a natural method as possible, while on the other hand the rewards for good conduct must also be more or less accentuated. Thus the problem of criminology for youth can not be based on the principles now recognized for adults. They can not be protective of society only, but must have marked reformatory elements. Solitude² which tends to make weak, agitated, and fearful, at this very gregarious age should be enforced with very great discretion. There must be no personal and unmotivated clemency or pardon in such a scheme, for, according to the old saw, if mercy pardon those who kill, it becomes a murderer; nor on the other hand should there be the excessive disregard of personal adjustments, and the uniformitarian, who perhaps celebrated his highest triumph in the old sentence, "kill all offenders and suspects for God will know his own," should have no part nor lot here. The philosopher Hartmann has a suggestive article advocating that penal colonies made up of transported criminals

¹ *La Criminologie*, p. 310.

² See its psychology and dangers well pointed out by M. H. Small: *Psychical Relations of Society and Solitude*. *Ped. Sem.*, April, 1900, vol. vii, pp. 13-69.

should be experimented on by statesmen in order to put various theories of self-government to a practical test. However this may be, the penologist of youth must face some such problem in the organization of the house of detention, boys' club, farm, reformatory, etc. We must pass beyond the clumsy apparatus of a term sentence or the devices of a jury, clumsier yet, for this purpose; we must admit the principle of regret, fear, penance, material restoration of damage, and understand the sense in which, for both society and for the individual, it makes no practical difference whether experts think there is some taint of insanity, provided only that irresponsibility is not hopelessly complete.

In few aspects of this theme do conceptions of and practises in regard to adolescence need more radical reconstruction. A mere accident of circumstance often condemns to criminal careers youths capable of the highest service to society, and for a mere brief season of temperamental outbreak or obstreperousness exposes them to all the infamy to which ignorant and cruel public opinion condemns all those who have once been detected on the wrong side of the invisible and arbitrary line of rectitude. The heart of criminal psychology is here, and not only that, but I would conclude with a most earnest personal protest against the current methods of teaching and studying ethics in our academic institutions as a speculative, historical, and abstract thing. Here in the concrete and saliently objective facts of crime it should have its beginning, and have more blood and body in it by getting again close to the hot battle line between vice and virtue, and then only when balanced and sanified by a rich ballast of facts can it with advantage slowly work its way over to the larger and higher philosophy of conduct, which, when developed from this basis, will be a radically different thing from the shadowy, phantom, shablone speculations of many contemporary moralists, taught in our schools and colleges.

CHAPTER VI

SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT: ITS DANGERS AND HYGIENE IN BOYS

The bio-psychology of sexuality—Variability of parts—Pubertal changes in hair—Sexual elements—Mammæ—Uterus—Ovaries—Testes—Other parts—Castration and its moral and physical effects—Its justification—Self-abuse: its prevalence, its causes, and its mental and physical effects—The problem of masturbatic insanity—Sexual tension—The question of special sex nerves and centers; their hierarchy and order of development see psychology—Representative experiences of victims of self-abuse—The critical point in the development of the habit—Psychic and moral effect of spontaneous emissions—State of mind which leads youth to quacks—Unique opportunity for, and efficacy of, religion—Inadequacy of ethical teaching in cases—Ignorance and neglect of parents and preachers—Limited insight and knowledge of physicians—Devices of quackery and the extent of its influence—Proper food and regimen—Kind of instruction needed—Special methods of amelioration and of prevention.

For biology the plasmata in general and the protoplasms in particular, under many names and aspects, occupy a position of ever-increasing interest and preeminence. Unlike ether, the still more or less hypothetical background of all physical existence, protoplasm is a tangible reality accessible to many and ever more subtle methods of study, and like Schopenhauer's basal will to live, its all-dominant impulse is to progressive self-expression. It is the creator of the ascending series of types and species of plants and animals, which become its habits of self-formulation, although all that have so far existed do not yet fully express it. It unites successive generations into an unbroken continuum, so that they bud, the later from the earlier, each ontological link organizing a soma of gradually lessening vitality doomed to death, while it remains immortal in the phylum. Bonnet speaks of an unique animated fluid which the Architect of the universe has sown through living bodies as he has sown worlds through the celestial spaces. The most primitive and characteristic cellular expression of protoplasm is in the spermatozoa and ova (which it is now thought were themselves developed out

of an indifferent or intermediate structure), the vast numbers of which, not only in the lower forms but in man himself, illustrate its fecundity. As these primitive sex elements differentiate one from the other, sex organs, secondary and ancillary to their needs in all their vast variety and beauty of form and exact adaptation to each other, throughout the plant and animal kingdom, are developed. Nerves and brains themselves, and all their functions, from the most elemental tropism toward light, air, food, gravity, etc., up through instinct to conscious soul, are the mouthpieces of germinant living substance to express its nature and needs and to light its way onward. Yet while the individual grows, thinks, and plans, his whole organism and life may have a higher and very different use for this primitive, vital substance than the ends which persons or races consciously propose or even than those which their instinctive life illustrates. History, and perhaps the whole life of all known or even possible species, may be but an incident in its development. Again there is growing reason to regard it as not only transcendent in this sense, but as a storehouse or reservoir of experiences, so that heredity itself may be a form of memory and nothing perhaps be ever lost. Thus as we watch under the microscope this marvelous substance that spins out filaments, foams, develops granules or films, vibrates, takes on or puts off various forms of organization in its ceaseless Heraclitic becoming, which even histological methods and stains but half reveal and half conceal, we can not repress some degree of the sentiment which declared the undevout astronomer mad, because we here contemplate the one unbroken physical source and origin of all life which makes its most diverse forms forever akin. As variations increase with the number of atoms in a molecule, there may be, according to Caley and Peirce, "billions or trillions of protoplasmic substances, and not one only, as was once assumed."

As most closely related to this great pleromal sea of life, abounding stand in the higher plants and animals the sexual organs, which in ancient phallicism and in the modern love of flowers are objects of great esthetic interest and curiosity. In them and their function, life reaches its maximal intensity

and performs its supreme function. The *vita sexualis* is normally a magnificent symphony, the rich and varied orchestration of which brings the individual into the closest *rapproch* with the larger life of the great Biologos, and without which his life would be a mere film or shadow. As this vast subject looms up to the psychologist and he begins to catch glimpses of its long-neglected wealth and beauty overgrown with foul and noxious fungoids and haunted by all the evil spirits that curse human life; as he clearly sees to what a degree art, science, religion, the home, the school, and civilization itself suffer from this degradation; as he understands the all-conditioning importance of normality of primary acts and organs and the hitherto unsuspected range of qualities that are now coming to reveal themselves as secondary sexual both in their origin and in their present deeper relationship, he realizes that it is his preeminent prerogative and duty, from which it would be base cowardice to shrink, to sound a cry of warning in terms plain enough if possible to shock both quacks and prudes, who have, the one perverted, and the other obscured, the plain path of life for adolescence.

I. The sexual organs make procreation surer, less wasteful, and probably far more hedonic as we ascend the scale of being. In the human fetus the testes can be detected as early as the sixth week, and at the close of the third month they can be discriminated from the ovaries. The genital tubercle from which the male glans is to grow can be seen by the tenth week. Minot¹ finds that the male and female organs have seven parts in common, while there are thirteen homologies which are slowly differentiated as the embryo becomes fully sexed. In hermaphrodites, which Duval and many since have studied, sexual differentiation which ought to take place in embryonic life has been incomplete, and sometimes, as in the still unparalleled case of Lepore, who at sixteen was predominantly a girl and at sixty-five a man, the qualities of the two sexes are nearly balanced, but usually even in these cases one predominates. The testes of the frog grow around the ovaries, and one or the other is absorbed

¹ Human Embryology, p. 492.

as sex declares itself, and in many other cases we now know that the embryological truth of Plato's myth of the bifurcation of an originally bisexual man was a periphrastic adumbration. Geigel¹ found two kinds of developmental variability, one group being due to more or less rapidity in the evolution of the parts peculiar to each sex, which he referred to varying local nutritive activity, and another group differentiated by the very variable time of the disappearance of parts peculiar to the opposite sex, due, he thought, to circulatory and resorptive differences. In the animal and even plant series closely allied species have great variability of sex parts and functions, the same organs sometimes producing alternately eggs and spermatozoa, while lower down we find many creatures that may reproduce either by fission or division or sexually.

Dr. F. N. Seerley, who has examined over 2,000 normal young men as well as many young women, tells me that in his opinion individual variations in these parts are much greater even than those of face or form, and that the range of adult and apparently normal size and proportion as well as function, and of both the age and order of development, not only of each of the several parts themselves, but of all their immediate annexes, and in females as well as males, is far greater than has been recognized by any writer. This fact is the basis of the anxieties and fears of morphological abnormality, to be discussed later, and so frequent during adolescence. Normal development here is a physiological *sine qua non*, conditioning that of many traits of mind and body not usually recognized as sexual.

The significance of the normal evolution of these organs is seen in the great preponderance of defect due to both congenital conformation and to anomalies of evolution seen in defectives, among whom variations are still greater. In 507 delinquents examined by Marro,² over 10 per cent were abnormal in these organs as compared with 2 per cent among others. Out of 728 youthful epileptics and idiots studied

¹ Geigel, Richard. Ueber Variabilität in der Entwicklung der Geschlechtsorgane beim Menschen. Würzburg, 1883.

² La Puberté, p. 78.

by Bourneville and Sollier,¹ 262 had anomalies of these parts, a percentage which they call "enormously more" than that which was found among 299,270 conscripts from all classes, who were their bases of comparison. Varicocele, especially prevalent among young epileptics, hydrocele, epispadias, hypospadias, and other defects of the urinal passage, cryptorchidias, and other testicular imperfections, especially on the left side, often complicated with hernia (130 cases), phimosis and other abnormalities of the prepuce, and various forms of arrest or defect, with occasional hypertrophies, both of structure and of function, that dwarf other lines of growth, are the chief troubles. It would be interesting to know how many of these cases had reproductive power.

Puberty literally means becoming hairy. Hair first develops in the pubic region at about fourteen in boys and thirteen in girls, generally before menstruation, later under the arm-pits just before the period of most rapid development of the breasts, and last comes the beard at the age of eighteen or nineteen. Tardiness or absence of the latter suggests arrest of the other later and higher qualities. Folk-lore proverbs and popular opinion warns us against beardless men. Marro (p. 79) publishes the following percentages of absence of beard at twenty years of age to show the difference between criminal and normal persons:

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------|----------------|------|
| Assassins..... | 16.2 | Swindlers..... | 4.3 |
| Crime against persons..... | 17.0 | Thieves..... | 11.0 |
| Rape..... | 8.3 | Vagabonds..... | 20.3 |
| Brigands..... | 12.0 | Average..... | 13.9 |
| Incendiaries..... | 16.6 | Normal..... | 1.5 |

Anomalies in the development of hair are common in defectives, but beard among bearded races seems a sign of mature virility, and although man may be gradually losing the hairy coat of his anthropoid ancestor, defect here is, at least now, a stigma of degeneration. The hair of the head often changes slightly in color and texture and may become straighter at puberty, and baldness and grayness increase fast at senescence. Vigor and beauty of hair and beard, and some think the quality and odor of their sebaceous

¹ Anomalies des Organes génitaux chez les Idiots et les Epileptiques. *Prog. Med.*, 1888, p. 125.

glands, which, like all other glands, are in mysterious *rappor*t with those involved in reproduction, are sexual charms. Beard and absence of hair on the body may be products of sexual secretion. The hair is normally at its best at the acme of sexual vitality. Its fetishisms then take their rise and its coiffure among savages is most elaborate. Just what this relation means in the present and in the evolutionary past is an unsolved problem.

The pubertal changes which take place in the male organs, besides those that are more obvious owing to their external condition, have received far less attention than has been bestowed by morphologists, physiologists, and gynecologists upon those of the female, and the sympathetic reverberations of these changes upon the whole organism are far less known. The corpora spongiosa, and still more the corpora cavernosa, increase to perhaps double their length and thickness, so that their vascularity and erethism is greatly augmented. The glans become larger and more sensitive, whether by increase in the size or number of the end bulbs and Pacinian corpuscles of touch and greater irritability of nerve centers, or by more local blood supply, is not known. The prepuce is more or less retracted on the glans and more mobile upon it, and grows more in circumference than in breadth or thickness. The glands of Tyson become active, and their odoriferous secretions, which in animals play an important rôle for sex, increase or sometimes now begin. The network of lymphatics grows more dense and active, and new dangers of uncleanness and irritation, both of which may cause abnormal states, now arise. These dangers are so great and obvious that many primitive races have practised circumcision at this age as a preventive. The prostate glands and those of Cowper, as well as the seminal vesicles, develop in size and function.

The scrotum expands to more than twice its former size, the spermatic cord lengthens, the testes descend further and enlarge greatly. They also become more variable in size and activity with the conditions of the *vita sexualis*. The testes are developed in the abdomen, beginning just below the kidneys, and slowly migrate downward toward the scrotum during the later months of intra-uterine life.

Normally they grow at the same time. Arrest, both of descent and growth, and even atrophy and absence of one or both may occur, as the comprehensive monograph of E. Godard¹ shows, although mature function without descent may occur. Many hypotheses have been put forth to explain the descent, its relation to growth, to hernia, disease, abnormal secretions, all the many anomalies of form, and their re-ascent by excess or shock into the crural canal, the perineal region, or even to the iliac fossa. Non-descent, common to many animals, in man usually implies absence of function, and puberty is the last stage of life at which belated descent can be hoped for. They grow rapidly at adolescence to an average weight of 16 grams. Scrotic tonicity, which in part determines the degree of pendency of the testes, is in hardly less delicate *rapproch* with states of brain, cord, and psyche than in the knee-jerk or the dilation and contraction of the iris. General debility or excessive function, like approaching old age, may cause relaxation, especially on the left side, which is lowest in most men, but artificial support is rarely necessary. The scrotic reflex is far more widely irradiated on the thighs and abdomen at puberty. The veins of the scrotum have few or no valves. For animals that go on all-fours and have no pendency, valves are unnecessary, but the upright position and pendency together are hard on these veins, and varicocele of more or less intensity and often transient is frequent shortly after adult size is attained. This is another cause of fears that are usually excessive, for this trouble has little and probably nothing whatever to do with excess of sexual function. Again, the motor-waves of the scrotum begin at this age and are analogous to the peristaltic action of the intestines, and like them reflect psychic states, and also probably general, and not merely special, sexual tension. They decline at senescence with the decrease of the secretions that are thus propelled along the epididymis and the long vas deferens. These changes have been superstitiously used for auguries of procreation, and all of them are often the basis of groundless fears. In few parts and functions of our bodies can Nature

¹ *Études sur la Monorchidie et la Cryptorchidie*, p. 164.

be more complacently trusted if allowed to work out her own way unmolested.

The chief physical fact of male puberty, about which all the other physical changes center, is that now true spermatozooids are formed. The seminiferous canals, hitherto round and smooth, become turgid by the development of large spermatophore cells which produce clusters of spermatozoa. The processes by which these latter arise within the walls of the canals has for a quarter of a century been a theme of continuous research, theory, and controversy. The primitive male cell, unlike the female cell which long remains stationary, undergoes many divisions before true sperm cells are formed. Geddes and Thompson prefer the following pedigree and nomenclature (p. 113): First, the primitive sex cell or male ovule; this is modified over into the mother sperm cell of spermatogonium; this divides into spermatocytes, and from these descend the spermatides or immature cells which differentiate into spermatozoa. The vast complexity and obscurity of these processes is only equaled by their importance.

When spermatozoa were first discovered by Hamm, a pupil of Leeuwenhoek, at Leyden, in 1677, they were thought to be parasites, and only near the middle of this century were their origin and function known. They are only about $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch in diameter, and according to Lode¹ 226,257,000 are produced in both testicles per week, or 339,385,500,000 during thirty years of vigorous sexual life. This vast number seems a relict of the great fecundity of lower forms of life maintained, perhaps, because of their small size and the corresponding improbability of any single cell finding an ovum. Here, if anywhere in the human organism, life still remains a continuous cell division from one generation to another, and as in certain protozoan forms of life, there is no death and no corpse. Every other physical process and every act of life may be regarded as but the wriggle of flagella to bring these elements to their highest maturity before and after their union with ova, to effect that union under the most favorable terms, etc. At any rate, the spermatozoa and ova, the elements of which preexist in the

¹ Pflüger's Archiv, 1891.

infant body, but which come to maturity at puberty, are elements of a very different and far higher biological order than any other tissue or organ. To their interests, could we only know them, all others whatsoever should yield, and they might be regarded as in some sense the highest criteria of every act or mode of life, whatever our views of Weismann's theories.

It is not wholly the accumulation of sexual fluid in and its pressure on the walls of the vesicles that causes the first ejaculation by reflex action. Accessory secretions often precede, and the phenomena of pro-spermatogenesis, sometimes not without much pain, often precede functional maturity. The first spontaneous but perfectly normal activity of the sex organs at puberty constitute a group of psychophysical phenomena so new that great perturbations are often caused, upon which quacks know so well how to play by exciting morbid fears. Sometimes the testicular secretions, although abundantly produced, do not appear without, but are resorbed *in situ*, partly at least by the rich plexi of lymphatics which surround these canals, and this seems one of Nature's provisions to both aid and to utilize chastity. The influence of the presence of spermatic fluid upon the voice, muscular vigor, hair, growth, etc., are vast and obscure but very tempting fields for research and theory. Beunis thinks the first secretions of sperm begin between ten and fifteen, but contain no spermatozoa. These, Mantegazza thinks, do not normally appear, or at least ripen, before eighteen or twenty, but Bierent thought he found them in sixty cases at thirteen to fifteen, which conclusion agrees with that of Fredericq and Nuel, and from this he distinguishes three stages of adolescence: a premonitory, when spermatic secretions occur; a period of first ejaculation and menstruation usually marked by much perturbation; and third, the age, a year or more later, of maturity and reproductive power. This nearly corresponds with Marro's three stages of preparation, acceleration, and perfection of adolescent development.

II. Passing now to girls, traces of the *mammæ*, which give their characteristic name to the highest group of ani-

mals, first appear in man by the end of the second month of intra-uterine life. The mammæ and the nipple were developed by the grouping to one orifice of many glands slowly differentiated from those diffused over the dermal surface on which they open up to about the stage of the monotremes, traces of their old independence still being seen in slight pimple-like protuberances about the nipple and probably in supplementary mammæ. In their secretions these resemble the sebaceous, but in structure the sudoriferous glands. At first in the human female they secrete not milk but colostrum, and as Becquerel and Vernois have shown, there are more salts, butter, caseins, and solids before twenty, but the water and sugar ingredients increase after. The profound sympathy of the mammæ with the *vita sexualis*, both physically and psychically, is well known, and is established at this age when both their sensitiveness to touch and their secretions respond acutely to psychic and nervous influences.

Phylogenetically they are evolved probably not from sebaceous but by specialized sweat glands. Up to ten or twelve years of age the internal structure and the outer form of the breasts is nearly the same for boys and for girls. At puberty they begin to undergo important modifications in females, and ever thereafter respond in the most sympathetic way to the changes in the pelvic molimina. Both the galactophores or glands and the supportive areolar tissue develop rapidly at this period, but the latter much preponderates until pregnancy, to which, in this respect, puberty is in a sense preparatory, when the former rapidly matures. Until eleven or twelve the glandular elements continue to divide in both sexes, but without forming true lobules. At this age, development, which it is very significant to note, is sometimes marked and even excessive in the male, and sometimes also retrogression occurs. In girls the circle around the nipple or the areola enlarges, and its distinctly pink color deepens, the nipple projects and grows firm, and the orifice of the separate glands appear as pimply projections, and its sensitiveness, measured by reaction to mechanical stimulation, increases. Fat also develops in the body of the breasts, and the alveoli enlarge and probably new ones

are formed. The gland as a whole grows from one-half or three-fourths of an inch across and one-sixth of an inch in thickness, the size at which it remains in the male, to an average of about four and one-half inches wide and one-half an inch thick in the female. Arteries and veins also undergo adaptive enlargement. Very rarely there is a slight secretion and discharge at puberty, as sometimes in early infancy.

These are among the more variable parts of the body. Polymasty or supernumerary breasts occur about once in five hundred persons. These may be outside or above, but are generally caudad and suggestive of the rows of dugs in many higher vertebrates, but indeed may occur on almost any part of the trunk or even limbs. Charpy finds great individual differences beginning at puberty. The distance of the mammæ from each other increases somewhat in proportion to the curve of the thorax with well-marked, broad and round, especially long and pear-shaped, types often distinguished as racial differences, and varying with the form of the chest. The completeness of their development in structure no less than in function is also exceedingly variable, and is influenced by everything in the environment; including food, regimen, and occupation, error here tending to retard the later stages of their development. Few organs suffer more from avoidable cause of arrest, and one of the earliest of the long degenerative stages which mark the decay of ethnic stock is imperfect mammary function and inability to nurse offspring sufficiently.

The changes in the female organs of generation at puberty are very marked and of great complexity and importance. The mons is covered with hair, which, beginning in the central part, spreads slowly to its full and very variable extent, grows for several years in density, rigidity, and commonly takes on a darker hue. Adipose tissue is developed and the integument probably thickens. The labia majora also thicken by the same process, growing more over the labia minora and reducing the rima. At no period of life are the outer labia so closely approximated, the vulva so entirely closed, and the inner parts so hidden, a result to which the rapid growth of the thighs at this age also contributes. The dartos tunic of unstriped muscular tissue is

enlarged even more than the fat, nerves, and glands of the labia majora at puberty. The triangular apex of the minor labia protrude very slightly, changing to a darker hue, and the sebaceous glands of this part develop, while those of the nympha do so only in pregnancy. The distance from the fossa to the mons increases, and the marked racial difference in the position of the vaginal opening and of its direction, but slightly manifest before, now appear.

The pubertal growth of the clitoris is relatively about equal and very similar to that of the corresponding male organ. It acquires now its power of erectility. The genital corpuscles of Krause, and those of Finger, in which the nerves which stimulate reflex erectility end, no doubt undergo developmental changes. The urethral glands and the venous plexi of all the erectile tissues enlarge in all these parts, which together are the homologues of the prostate gland in man. The anterior tubercle of the vagina, however, which surrounds the meatus, diminishes at least relatively, while the vulvo-vaginal glands grow nearly to the size of an almond, and secrete reflexly upon excitation of the clitoris.¹ Much the same is true of the mucous secretions of the vestibular and urethral follicles. Whether the acidity of these secretions is increased, or only their quantity, is unknown. The secretory function, too, of all these parts is augmented in a marked degree.

The vagina undergoes a great increase of both length and breadth. Its muscular tunic thickens, the mucous surfaces redden and grow active, and all the venous plexi enlarge as the circulation in these parts increases.

The uterus is small in children, but grows immensely on the approach of womanhood to forty or fifty grammes in weight, and also changes from a cylindrical to its characteristic pyriform shape. As the pelvic cavity enlarges it tips forward and its antelexion is slightly diminished, its neck becomes relatively shorter, and the orifices toward the tubes become longer and more opened as the cavity grows larger. The arbor vitæ shows its structure, making its neck resemble the buccal orifice. The muscular walls increase greatly,

¹ See Bierent, *La Puberté*, 1896, pp. 104-121.

partly by enlargement of preexisting and partly by the development of new fibers, and the mucous surfaces undergo very important changes described elsewhere in the complex processes of nidification and menstruation.

The hymen grows in both thickness and tenacity, but there is hardly more individual variation in these respects than in size and form of its orifice. Probably its form changes at puberty from the previously simpler shape and is less often annular and more often corolliform, and it is often broken by several rarely symmetrical notches or lobes. From puberty its orifice enlarges slowly till full nubility. The bulbus vestibuli certainly, and probably the sphincter vaginæ, and Kobelt's pars intermedia, participate in the accelerated growth of this period. So too must the nerves, if we can infer from the great increase of sensitiveness.

Puech found that the ovaries grew from early girlhood in each of their three dimensions, and that there was a marked augmentation of rate at or near the dawn of puberty, but that their growth normally continued for some years afterward before they attained adult dimensions, the right always slightly leading the left. They grow soft and vascular, but weight increases in about the same proportion as size, or from about two or three grams before puberty to five or six at full maturity. Their growth in length is greater than in their vertical and transverse diameters. Up to ten the ovaries are at about the level of the iliac fossæ, but they become intrapelvic and more or less mobile at puberty, owing to their erectile function and the traction of the uterus and Fallopian muscles. A slight projection at a single point marks the ripening of the first Graafian follicle, the monthly rupture of which is later to scarify the previously smooth ovarian surfaces. The parenchyma of the ovaries from which the ovules germinate is not only enlarged, but becomes the center upon which the pubertal development of breasts and uterus is especially dependent. The medullary substance grows more than any other part of the ovarian tissue at puberty, and is enlarged much at the first menstruation and somewhat at each later one, when its color also changes to a dark slaty-red, due to normal congestion.

Since 1827, when von Baer discovered the ovum in man,

the existence of which had long been known in animals, there has been, as Auvard well says, a revolution in genital physiology. Ovulation is at least in some sense a secretion, although, unlike other glands, the ovaries and testes secrete living cells. The process is spontaneous, the ova emerging from the Graafian follicle at the surface of the ovaries, and being conveyed through them mainly by ciliary motions to the uterus. Normally the ovaries lay their eggs when the nest of uterine mucus is ready to receive and fix them if impregnated, although the latter is broken down and discharged if not needed. These two processes, however, are somewhat independent, for each may occur without the other, although normally they are almost as coincident as the special adjustment of the vocal cords and the stress of the breath used to produce phonation. The growth of the mucous surface is a monthly anabolic surplus upon which the ovum can live for a time. If it is not fertilized, these preparations are vain, and menstruation is an expression of their failure. When the cellular detritus from the inner wall of the uterus has passed off, the blood ceases, and in eight or ten days the lost lining is replaced, and the wounds in the ovaries caused by the bursting of the follicle and the liberation of the ova are healed, leaving, however, scars for each period. We have here, then, a striking case of the rejuvenation of the tissue by proliferation centering about reproduction, which may itself be considered as the very highest degree of this process. Here, too, we have atavistic suggestions of a great but now lost fecundity. In the two ovaries of a girl of eighteen there are estimated to be 72,000 primitive ova, of which, however, only about 400 mature during life, reaching an average size of $\frac{1}{17}$ of an inch.¹

III. Andrews² has undertaken to describe the effects of castration on animals as follows: Wethers do not grow larger, but their wool is less oily and of more value, indicating sympathy of the testes with sebaceous glands. Cats grow larger, are fonder of petting, as if a secondary sex quality was increased, and remain good mousers. The

¹ Lee. *American Text-Book of Physiology* pp. 887, 982.

² *Am. Med. Jour.*, January, 1898.

horse grows larger if castrated young, suggesting the inverse ratio of individuation to genesis, but the bridle teeth are not modified as in the full male, indicating less vigor of jaw development and less power to bite. The calf is larger and taller than the bull, but his neck and fore-quarters, effective in sexual conflicts with other males, are smaller. His cerebellum increases, and his horns are longer and perhaps even thicker, but on the whole less powerful and dangerous than those of the bull. The pitch of the voice is higher, not in bellowing, to which he is more prone, but in lowing. The elks experimented on did not shed their horns, which are accessory sexual in function, as usual, but their tips were frozen in the severe winter, and when they came off numerous small sprouts grew in the spring, which were again nipped the next winter, until large bony knobs arose which, perhaps, if protected with care, would have attained a great size.

The influence of sex seems to extend in some mysterious way, which we do not understand, to that disappearance of cartilage which marks the cessation of bone growth. The general view since Haller was for a long time that castration weakened the force of growth. Springer¹ holds that nutritive activity is checked in eunuchs, and that they have especially small and arrested legs and thin thighs like old men. Lortet, however,² who has examined many eunuchs and extended his study to castrated animals, concludes that while their pelvic and thoracic regions are small, most bones of the arms, legs, feet, and fingers are long, slender, comparable with the bones of the ox, and often delicate, and that this is especially true of the legs. May it be that there is an inverse relation between length of limb, especially the femur, and relative size of pelvis and sexual vigor and maturity, and that disproportionate length of upper leg is a bad sign for maternity? This operation on the eunuchs of Cairo, even though it may have been performed in infancy, does not cause much differentiation till puberty, but they attain a stature of nearly two inches more than the average of their race.

¹ *La Croissance*, Paris, 1899.

² *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences*, April, 1890.

Lancaster¹ quotes a letter from "a well-known professor in a New England College," who spent years in the East among Nubian eunuchs, as follows: "There is no question that castration at an early age does in various ways modify physical development, though I do not think it modifies it so much as is commonly supposed. The difference most likely to be observed was in the voice. Castration does produce an immense effect, though an indirect one, upon the character. It is not the operation in itself, but its effects upon the mind. The mind broods over the fact that the body is reproductively impotent and is filled with morbid resentment and jealousy. No other physical deformity can so far distort and devilize the character. As far as I can judge, sex feelings exist unmodified by absence of the sexual organs. The eunuch differs from the man, not in the absence of sexual passion, but only in the fact that he can not fully gratify it. As far as he can approach a gratification of it, he does so. Often, maddened by a sense of impotence, he wreaks vengeance on the irresponsible object of which he is enamored. . . . The eunuchs have all the adolescent phenomena. I have watched, for example, boy-eunuchs of ten or eleven years, possibly younger. Early conscious, as they are, of their desexed condition, there was nothing apparent in their moods or pleasures different from other children of their race. They took the same delight in a perfume or a flower, or a pretty baby, as any other boy of their race would have done. The little eunuch is more inclined to solitude than almost any Western child, but perhaps no more than his compatriots. As to rebelling against authority, I have more than once seen a diminutive eunuch do that."²

Marro³ insists on the close relation between the development of organs and the secondary sexual characteristics, and gives two interesting cases where the former atrophied and

¹ *Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence*, by E. G. Lancaster. Ped. Sem., July, 1897, vol. v, p. 61.

² Kroemer [*Zeitsch. f. Psychopath.*, 135-52] and Krafft-Ebing [*Psych. Arbeiten*, ii., 189], recommend it guardedly for men in cases of sexual hyperæsthesia, but the latter thinks its beneficial effects are not apparent for a year or two.

³ *La Puberté*. Bull. de la Soc. de Med. de Belgique, 1894, p. 1575.

the latter did not develop. History records the achievements of many eunuchs of great ability—the Marseilles philosopher, Favorino, the Egyptian general, Aristonicus, Narses, the general of Justinian, Salomon, one of the lieutenants of Belisarius, Haly, grand vizier of Soliman; but Marro thinks these are exceptions. Eunuchs, he holds, are precocious and never live to great age. The pulse is feeble, and they are prone to varicosities in the extremities and to periodic hemorrhoids, liver troubles, etc. Like animals thus mutilated, they are more docile. In Central Asia, Dr. G. Roberts reports that girls are often castrated to act the rôle of and sometimes to be sold for eunuchs. Mojon thinks that if this operation is performed upon the young, those bones not yet entirely hardened continue soft and growing. Osteomalacia, which is especially a disease of women, and consists in softening of the bones, is arrested by extirpation of the ovaries. Acromegalia, which is also closely connected with the sexual organs, and is marked by extraordinary development of the bones of the face and those of both the upper and lower extremities, sometimes causes girls to assume a virile aspect, the voice to deepen, and the breasts to shrink, the thyroid gland and the clitoris to increase, and the genesic desires, and perhaps the periods, to diminish. Marie, Souza-Leite, Tamburini, Tanzi, and Freund think this trouble closely connected with disorder of the genital functions at puberty. Indeed, some think that the terminal parts of the extremities grow first at puberty, the hands and feet becoming less graceful and magnified, and their muscles and even fat developing out of proportion to the rest of the body which makes up its due proportions later. If this be so, normal puberty would present anomalies similar to those of acromegalia.

Flood¹ thinks that if castrated young man grows taller, fatter, and has a larger frame; that the hair on pubes and face does not grow; that the cheeks look round and prominent, and the chin is often double; that the voice of boys is higher, and that of girls lower. Harris² thinks eunuchs have longer legs, light pelvis, and are prone to be undeveloped

¹ Notes on the Castration of Idiot Children. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, vol. x, p. 296.

² *Phila. Med. Jour.*, 1898.

in chest and arms, again like the ox, and their bones are not only longer but more hollow and so weaker. The skin of castrated negroes often grows several shades lighter colored, as if the color-type was weakened. Eunuchs are said to suffer less from gout and renal calculus, as if sex was inversely as this kidney function, have a weak, slow pulse, are prone to hemorrhoids, liver troubles, indicating concomitant decline of glandular vigor, rarely live to old age, and resemble animals thus operated upon which are more tractable and more easily domesticated.

The functional castration, practised among the Pueblo Indians to fit certain young men for religious ceremonies and also for pederasty, is performed by excessive abuse of this function in unmentionable ways till local paralytic impotence supervenes and becomes permanent, and the victims are reduced to the condition of "mugenados" or women-men, when the organs atrophy, the beard falls out, the voice grows feminine, and the breasts give milk. In China, where the Emperor used to keep 2,000 eunuchs, the operation removes all organs by a single stroke before adolescence, and the process is said to be fatal in only three per cent of the cases. It is practised by certain fanatical religious sects, notably the White Doves or Skoptzi, in Russia, to insure purity. They are described as a very vigorous people with many excellent qualities. Ablation of the ovaries, still practised in Bombay, suppresses the menses, makes the voice harsh, the breasts shrunken, the face hairy, the character forceful and masculine, and the form angular and unattractive.

In general, the psychic as well as the physical effects of castration are less the later the latter operation. The ox and gelding, as is known, do not entirely lose their libido, but it is greatly reduced. Guinard has shown that in two or three per cent of cases castration of horses does not prevent coition. In men libido of a falsetto kind may occur. Flood, who operated on twenty-six idiot boys, all but two of whom were under seventeen, and half under fourteen, reports sexual appetite missing in all but two cases, and in these being only spasmodic, although erections, and in one case masturbation, persisted slightly at intervals. In all instances temper was greatly improved, and there was less pugnacity, obstinacy,

self-will, and more sympathy, altruism, and normal balance of emotion. Möbius,¹ who has given us the fullest history of the effects of castration, lays emphasis on the mental enfeeblement.

Facts in this field thus show the dependence of a very important group of not only physical but psychic qualities upon the presence of this quasi-gland, the loss of which seems to change both the intensity and the nature of character more than the loss of one and perhaps both legs, or any other removable part.

There has been much recent discussion in this country concerning the desirability of this operation. On the whole, the testimony seems conclusive that epileptic seizures may thus be made both less frequent and less severe. All but two of Flood's cases were epileptics, and only five were thought to need even diminished doses of bromide after the operation. Dr. W. O. Henry² designates as a crime of medical men their failure to urge legislation to prevent the marriage of criminals, or else to have them castrated. In 1897 a bill was introduced into the Michigan Legislature to insure the castration of inmates of the State Home for the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic before their discharge, in the case of those convicted of rape or of a felony for the third time, but it did not pass. The House Committee on Public Health of the Kansas Legislature lately reported favorably on a bill doing away with prison for rape and substituting castration, and was supported by the Social Purity League of Topeka. It has been claimed that ten other States would follow the lead of Kansas. Dr. Daniels, of Texas, and the late Dr. Wey, of Elmira, have urged castration for sexual perversion and for habitual criminals, and Dr. Boal, of Illinois,³ recommended it and ovariectomy for the punishment of crime and the reformation of criminals. It has also been often urged of late, instead of lynching, for negroes who commit rape in the South.

This may well give us pause. The case of dangerous

¹ Ueber die Wirkung der Castration. Halle, 1903.

² Medical Herald, June, 1866.

³ Jour. Am. Med. Ass'n, September, 1895.

idiots is certainly very different from that of criminals. Felony has no fixed meaning and varies greatly in different lands and in different States, and few jurists would venture to define it. It is heinous and used to involve loss of all possessions, but now often includes crimes punishable by death or imprisonment, and is sometimes due to excessive vigor in wrong directions which subjective inhibition or objective deterrents have not yet repressed, and which we may yet learn to divert to right directions. How far law should undertake human stirpiculture by such methods involves some of the deepest problems of biology, of the rights of personality and of society, and perhaps penal colonies or other new ways of treating crime, the possibility of new human varieties, etc.

This operation in maturity is far more serious, and according to Cabot¹ is very liable to be followed by mental disturbance as well as death when performed on the aged for enlarged prostate. While those subjected to it early in life practically lose the desire, this is far less abated in those operated on in later years. The extreme envy and jealousy charged to eunuchs may be due largely to their fidelity and zeal in defending the women in their charge.

When this operation in man occurs after puberty, normal congress but not fecundation is possible, and probably more often so in men than in animals. Glaevecke found that in females castrated after maturity sexual desire persisted in twenty-two per cent, was diminished in thirty-seven per cent, and extinguished in forty-one per cent. Jayle,² as the result of a *questionnaire*, reports that out of thirty-three cases of ovarian castration, desire was unchanged in eighteen, diminished in three, abolished in eight, increased in three; pleasure remained the same in seventeen, was diminished in one, abolished in nine, increased in five, and painful in six. In thirteen cases of utero-ovarian castration, desire was unchanged in three, diminished in two, abolished in one, and augmented in four, while pleasure remained the same in six, was increased in one, was hyperesthetic in one, and painful in one. Auto-suggestion that after the operation there

¹ *Annals of Surgery*, September, 1896.

² *Rev. de Gyn.*, 1897, p. 403.

should be a change, he says, probably played a great rôle. This appetite often survives, and may even increase, after the menopause. Closely connected as the organs are with desire, they are not indispensable to it, but the need is more or less diffused throughout the entire organism. The agitation at puberty, as the individual prepares for the perpetuation of the species, is not only often not localized from lack of knowledge of organs and acts, but is general and not unlike hunger, which is not all located in the stomach but is the aggregate effect of the nutritive needs of all the cells and tissues. The glandular cells along the digestive tract are overcharged and need to function, as do overrested muscles; so "we love with our whole body and not a single anatomical element is disinterested in the function of reproduction," and the soul as well as the body has its needs.

Concerning early intersexual vice I have spoken in the last chapter. How this is complicated with social and physical disease two recent researches typically show. Baer,¹ in a very valuable study of twenty-two murderers, in Berlin, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, notes none of Lombroso's anatomical signs, but finds most to be victims of the vicious sexual precocity characteristic of young criminals in large cities. The crime was in most instances revoltingly brutal and without remorse, and most such cases are deemed incorrigibly defective in their moral if not their intellectual nature. Caldo² finds that most prostitutes fall between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, which he terms the period of sexual vulnerability toward which chief effort should be directed. Diseased women are always more dangerous than diseased men, and this youthful class is most infectious. Into this vaster field I can not enter here.³

¹ Ueber jugendliche Mörder. Arch. f. Crim. Anthropol., Bd. xi, 1903.

² Vénérologie Sociale. Le Progrès Méd., April 11, 1903.

³ An interesting and valuable illustration of the awakening sense of responsibility in this field is seen in a comprehensive German report¹ based on 900 full answers to a six-page *questionnaire*, with 70 cases, showing the effects of church, plain speaking, and scientific literature on sex, association, and the dangers from soldiers, who

¹ Die geschlechtlich-sittlichen Verhältnisse der evangelischen Landbewohner im deutschen Reiche. I. Band. Ostdeutschland. Von Pastor H. Wittenberg und Pastor Dr. E. Hückstädt. Leipzig. 1895. pp. 309 and 236.

IV. One of the very saddest of all the aspects of human weakness and sin is onanism, and to say that it is as important in treating adolescence as it is painful to consider is to say very much. Until recently it has been met on the one hand with either prudery and painstaking reticence or treated in terms of exaggerated horror, as in the "scare" and quack literature. It still requires a great degree of moral earnestness to discuss it with candor and the requisite plainness. One thing can safely be assumed, namely, that no one ever fell into the habit by reading a serious work upon it. A sentence of Stuart Mill's has been well quoted¹ concerning it, viz., "The diseases of society can be no more checked or healed than those of the body without publicly speaking of them." To ignore or deny the wide prevalence of the evil, in the way often done, is sometimes honest ignorance, but is also often affectation and even a form of hypocrisy and cant. While scientific discussion of the subject may not be meant for all the young, lest they form too poor an opinion of human nature, it is, in my judgment, imperative for educators, and one of the richest scientific quarries opened by the new psychology.

The vice, as we know from Aristophanes, Ovid, Horace, and others, abounded in ancient Greece and Rome. The treatise of Hippocrates, 380 B. C., which ascribed the chief causal rôle to the spinal cord and gave it a fatalistic tone, was not excelled in acumen by any work upon the subject until the epoch-making treatise by Tissot,² in 1760, which was classic in style and very important in its results. It sought to make headway against the nameless abuses and vices in France centering in the court of Louis XIV and XV. The works of Simon³ and Lallemand⁴ described the

are called the most corrupting agency. Unmarried officers are called the curse of young women. Parental neglect is the first cause of lapses. On the whole, this voluminous and very comprehensive report presents a sad monotone of iniquity, accented now and then by incidents of exceptional pathos.

¹ *Die Masturbation. Eine Monographie für Aerzte und Pädagogen*, von Dr. Med. Hermann Rohleder, Berlin, 1899, p. 319. One of the latest and best treatises on the subject.

² *De l'Onanisme*, Lausanne, 1760.

³ *Traité d'Hygiène appliqué à l'éducation de la Jeunesse*, Paris, 1827.

⁴ *Des Pertes séminales involontaires*, Paris, 1836-42.

consequences of self-abuse as terrible—diseases of the brain and cord, paralysis, dementia, blindness, tabes, etc., in ways truer to the needs of morality than to science. Indeed, salutary as were these works, their influence is still seen in the lurid effects of the vice as described in much of the current popular literature, and has tended to bring the serious efforts of science in this field into discredit. The two comprehensive treatises of Pouillet¹ brought us back to common sense. The fifth International Hygienic Congress at Budapest, in 1894, at which Cohn² read the outlines of his important treatise, almost marked an epoch in the frankness and scientific mode of treating the subject, as Fournier's³ work had done in France. Tarnowsky, Rosenbach, Rohleder, Fürbringer, Löwenfeld, Hösslin, Ribbing, Moll, Lombroso, Krafft-Ebing, I. P. West, Hammond, and others have in recent years shed much light upon this subject and the broader one of *vita sexualis* in general. We shall, as far as practicable, confine ourselves to the adolescent aspects of the subject.

The first problem is the extent of the evil. Cohn proposed to send *questionnaires* to the best of the 21,000 German physicians and the 8,000 German students of medicine, requesting anonymous answers based upon their own school-memories and observations, but the scientific academy to which he appealed for the expenses of this research (some \$1,500) has not yet responded. Until some such comprehensive investigation is made, it is impossible to determine the extent of the vice. Many hold, however, that it is the most wide-spread of all the popular diseases. Blaschko, a Berlin expert, estimated in 1893 that there were yearly in that city over 30,000 cases who consulted physicians, and that if, in the four student years reckoned by averages, every patient was a different person, every student was treated for diseases indicating excess. Rohleder, in an earlier work published in 1895, estimated that ninety per cent had practised it, and the next year concluded that about all men once at least in

¹ L'Onanisme chez l'homme, 1883. L'Onanisme chez la femme. Tr. from the sixth edition in eight numbers of the Med. Times and Register, 1896.

² Was kann die Schule gegen die Masturbation des Kindes thun, von Prof. Hermann Cohn, Berlin, 1894.

³ De l'Onanisme, Paris, 1893.

their lives had been guilty. Berger¹ asserts the same. Tissot, in 1759, found every pupil in the *lycée* he investigated guilty. Benseman asserts its enormous prevalence in the English high schools. Moll quotes approvingly the phrase, "who denies it has forgotten," and Cohn is cynical enough to say, "If any one denies that he ever did it, he does it now." Dr. Seerley, of Springfield, Mass., found out of one hundred and twenty-five academic students, eight who satisfied him they had never indulged in it, and of three hundred and forty-seven who answered his questions, seventy-one denied having practised it. It was found to be practised without a single exception in a certain reform school known to the writer, where the inmates competed and the one who could consummate it oftenest daily was the object of a certain hero-worship. Because it is so dangerous, and liable to occur in individuals who lack stamina, it has its octopus-grasp in nearly all institutions for the defective classes. It is known to be practically ineradicable in institutions for the feeble-minded, and I have been told by heads of schools for deaf-mutes, and still more emphatically by officers of institutions for the blind, that in these—perhaps because they lack the normal quantum of sense stimuli and are less active and objective in their habits—it is peculiarly prevalent and tenacious.

F. S. Brockman² received two hundred and thirty-two replies from college and theological students at an average age of twenty-three and a half years, to the question, "What was the severest temptation of your school days?" One hundred and thirty-two specified masturbation, and ninety-two specified other sexual temptations, and these two together constituted five more than all other temptations combined. In forty-two papers only out of the two hundred and thirty-two was there no clear intimation of this form of temptation. "There were seventy-five who were guilty of masturbation after their conversion, and twenty-four after they had decided to become ministers." Some specified their struggles with this temptation at great length. Brockman sums up his conclu-

¹ Archiv für Psych., 1896.

² A study of the moral and religious life of two hundred and fifty-one students in the United States. Ped. Sem., vol. ix, p. 255.

sions as showing an alarming extent of this vice, a morbid state of mind thus occasioned, the stronghold which the habit still has, and the uniformity with which they blame their elders for not having warned them. The literature upon the various modes in which it is practised and the methods of imitation, contagion, and the seduction of younger by older boys is copious. We may well hope that these estimates are exaggerated, and the writer at least feels, as probably every reader will, a strong disposition to discredit with indignation all high estimates until they are forced home by statistics upon methods invulnerable to criticism. Yet it must be confessed that the whole literature of the subject attests that wherever careful researches have been undertaken, the results are appalling as to prevalence, and suggest that the Occident has little, if any, advantage over the sad records of the Orient, and that civilized man is on the whole, to say the least, no better, if not far worse, in this respect than his savage brother.

Strange to say, this perversion is not peculiar to man; for we have many and well-attested reports of its prevalence among monkeys, dogs, blood stallions, elephants, turkeys, etc., although in many of these cases the climax is not reached. Another sad chapter is that which describes it among children of tender years. There are well-authenticated cases where children of both sexes under two years of age have practised it, and far more cases are on record for still later childish years. In some cases it is taught by nurses, older children, or perverts; but there is abundant evidence that even with the very young, and still more with those older, the old view that it was not spontaneously learned; but due to example and moral infection, was wrong. It is one of the easiest and most spontaneous of all vices, and in very young children many now think it a disease more frequent among girls than boys. Some now believe that sucking the thumbs, fingers, rubber or other artificial nipples predisposes to it. It certainly does not need to be taught and may be spontaneous, although, in fact, it is probably in most cases contagious. All agree that the early years of puberty, from twelve to fourteen, are those in which it is most common. Sometimes an epidemic of mutualism, or some other form of it, devastates an entire

school, and many cases are on record where its prevalence in these years passes all non-expert credence. During the teens the intensity and frequency of it in individual cases, particularly in those of sanguine and choleric temperament, is no less difficult to believe. It sometimes reaches a satyriatic and nymphomaniac degree, and many, if not most, of the perversions originate in these years.

Its causes are many and difficult to proportion. Prominent among these is precocious mental development and too much psychic and too little physical expression. In these cases the attention of the child, in the progress of self-knowledge of its own body, is certain to be instinctively directed, as a mere matter of curiosity, to its sexual parts, and this is very greatly favored by a sitting position, especially if long maintained, which of itself is a stimulus, and by absence of other intense interests. Even in those of perfervid fancy the habit is sometimes formed in complete ignorance of its meaning. With knowledge, it is a matter of the strength of will, and wherever mental overwork weakens this, it tends to that irritable weakness of the nervous system which makes the rankest ground for onanism. Whether the central nervous system acts most upon the organs or *vice versa*, a question much discussed, is no doubt largely an individual matter, for probably each affects the other, but in different degrees in different stages of development. Wherever children mature early in mind there is special danger of a wrong direction, and therefore need of all the methods of control. The temperament from which hysteria and epilepsy spring is volcanic, and makes perhaps the best natural psychic constitution for the development of this evil. The physical processes of first menstruation predispose to it, and with some instruction or instinctive foreboding of its evil, cause violent struggles of soul which are exhausting in themselves.

A long list of skin diseases—pruritus, eczema, urticaria, and various parasitic disorders like scabies—increase the dangers. A consumptive heredity is a powerful predisposing agent. This insidious disease seems to act on human nature like a worm upon fruit in producing premature ripeness and activity of the reproductive function. A long convalescence, piles, habitual constipation, irritating urinal deposits, malfor-

mation of the organs, idleness and laziness, weakness of will in general, and doubtless heredity, play important etiological rôles. Among the external causes are springtime, which is a peculiarly dangerous season, warm climates, improper clothes, rich food, indigestion, mental overwork, nervousness, habits of defective cleanliness, especially of a local kind, prolonged sitting or standing, too monotonous walking, sitting cross-legged, spanking, late rising, petting and indulgence, corsets that produce stagnation or hyperemia of blood in the lower part of the body, too great straining of the memory—the causal influences of all these are expatiated on in detail by Rohleder and others.

Prominent among predisposing causes are often placed erotic reading, pictures, and theatrical presentations. Cohn even pleads for an expurgated Bible and dictionary, and others would banish the Odes of Horace, the Satires of Juvenal, to say nothing of Martial and Terence, and forbid ballets. Certain drugs, like phosphorus, cocaine, opium, camphor, and inhalation of oxygen, are now known to have stimulating, while others, like digitalis, saltpeter, arsenic, have an opposite effect. Schiller protests against trousers-pockets for boys, as do others against feather-beds, while even horseback-riding and the bicycle have been placed under the ban by a few recent extremist writers. Indulgence in intoxicating drink without doubt predisposes to it, as does any physical or psychic difficulty in access to closets, solitude, certain perfumes, overeating, fondling, fur, and rocking-chairs.

In general, while for a healthy child under good influences the majority of these causes can be successfully defied, like other of the ultra-refinements of modern hygiene, the greater the liability of the disease the more necessary does it become to attend to the very slightest etiological motives. While some are more or less frigid to the great majority of these favoring influences, the delicate, nervous child may respond in more or less degree to them all, even the slightest; and it should never be forgotten that early adolescent years are sensitive to all matters pertaining to sex, even very remotely, to a degree that science probably does not yet recognize and about which the ordinary parent is densely ignorant and optimistic, and which the child himself does not begin

to comprehend. The prurient often experiment with themselves in seeking assurance that function is normal, and this leads to manipulation and then to masturbation in the early teens, which is often carried on for a few years. The new sense of virility brings a certain deep elation that in coarser natures even becomes ostentatious and boastful before their mates, and sometimes especially before younger boys, with a vaunting feeling of superiority. The first orgasm, especially if forced at premature age, consists in a general and diffused glow and exhilaration of the sense of well-being even before emission is possible. This gives a heightened sense of the value of life, and a flush of ecstasy and joy that tinges the world with a glory that is far more than sensuous. But before this function is well developed the Nemesis of depression follows hard after these exaltations, and both states arouse thought and fancy in new directions and with a vividness unknown before. In bright, nervous children pubescence often dawns with almost fulminating intensity and suddenness, and sweeps the individual into pernicious ways long before moral or even intellectual restraints are operative. Excessive danger here is one of the penalties man pays for that inestimable tool of his development on to the human plane—the hand. The very definition of precocity involves inversion; the order of nascent periods has been reversed in both sequence and strength. Wherever this occurs the race deteriorates. Yielding to mere and gross sensuous pleasure shortens the growth period, and the only way to prolong it and attain an ever higher and fuller maturity for the race is by the plain old virtue of self-restraint. This is probably the field of most active and normal natural selection. The ascendant individual family or stock is the one that refuses to yield in excess to the temptation of the flesh, and the descendants are those whose instincts for selfish gratification preponderate over those of race-conservatism. These are the sins of the parents that are visited on their children, devitalizing, arresting their full development, and finally exterminating them. Honor to the unborn by parents is their chief claim to reverence by their children, and to enfeeble the power of hereditary transmission is worthy the contempt and curses which recent literature has often represented as felt by degenerates for those

responsible for their existence. The invective of a decadent son upon a sire but for whose private vice he might have been well born, is as haunting and characteristic a note of our modern culture as was the curse of Atreus's time for ancient Greece.

In discussing the results of onanism, we must first of all recognize that the immediate and sensational effects often seriously believed in, and often purposely exaggerated for pedagogic effects, are not so immediate or disastrous as represented in both the popular and the earlier literature. The brain is not literally drained away; dementia, idiocy, palsy, and sudden death are not imminent, nor is there any peculiar infallible expression, attitude, or any other manifestation instantly recognizable by experts. Current impression to this effect has much to do in causing terror, shamefacedness, and some of the bashfulness and solitude sometimes seen.

Perhaps the most common psychic result is a sense of unworthiness, sin, pollution, and the serious diminution of self-respect, often instinctively covered or resisted by whimmish and boisterous self-assertion, or occasionally hidden by almost morbid scrupulousness and convictions of foreboding disaster or penalty. In what theologians have described as the conviction of sin, this plays an enormous and hitherto unappreciated rôle. Consciousness of a vice so hated and despised is a potent factor in youthful melancholia, taking away the joy of life, and sometimes plunging the victim into discouragement culminating in a sense of utter despair. It is one of the causes of most of the morbid types of self-consciousness or introspection. The struggle between what is felt to be right, pure, honorable, and the lusts of the flesh is always hard for sanity, so that the physical lassitude and the sense of inadequacy to meet the ordinary burdens of life are not infrequently overwhelming. Now there is resolution and confidence as nature repairs lesions and buttresses budding manhood and womanhood against undermining influences from her beneficent and inexhaustible storehouse of growth-energy, but a lapse plunges into the depths again, so that the cyclic psychoses of undue elevation and exaltation, succeeded by depression, are established. Struggles for absolute purity and perfection germane to this age are met by

the influences that seem to spring from the prince of darkness and his abode. This dualism, which strains the unity of personality and makes hell-fires a subjective reality, divides the soul against itself and diverts energy otherwise available for study, exercise, and normal growth, and leads to many a battle with Apollyon absolutely unsuspected by all, so that many effects thought by many medical writers to be the results of physical laws are really due to the wear and tear of psychic struggles. Disciples of Dupenlin and Hartmann, like Mailouch, Kürnig, and others, make the highest human virtue to refrain from procreation, and not a few of them, in terms carefully guarded against the law, praise self-abuse, sexual perversity, abortion, etc., as midway between the supreme merit of perfect celibacy of body and soul and the *summum malum* of bringing children into the world. In every sane and moral mind the pessimistic cynicism of such views needs no refutation.

Prominent and preliminary in the study of effects is the problem whether self-abuse is more pernicious than excess in the natural way, and how the two differ. Here authorities are diametrically opposed. Some, especially those of a decade or two ago, have declared the effects to be the same, but now I find no competent authority who does not assert that abuse is far more injurious, and that in many ways; first, because it can be indulged in more readily, as the means are always at hand. This, of course, makes the dangers of excess far greater. Again, the stimulus is very different and more concentrated in time and place, and therefore tends to make the act more precipitate and convulsive. The evils of masturbation are due to the fact that, being unnatural, it requires greater excitement to produce the same effect; the action, moreover, is more specialized and limited; is less bound down to outer conditions, and can be more frequent; favors too early discharge and spermatorrhea and lacks the normality of gradual approach by the preliminary excitation of all the secondary sexual qualities of mind and body. All the irradiations of touch, sight, gradual approach, the long-circuit stimuli through the secondary sex qualities are lost; and the act is more brutal and descends far lower in the phylogenetic scale of animality. The normal act often produces an exaggerated

self-feeling of maturity, of being especially favored, attractive, or perhaps irresistible, while abnormal acts impair self-respect and tend to a sense of shame and of being an outcast to the better self as well as to society. This, which I nowhere find mentioned in the medical writers, I deem central. Generally, either the form, presence, or more often some particular object connected with the other sex is imagined with the utmost intensity. What sight, hearing, touch, and other senses perform is now the result of the imagination, which is fevered and in the act made morbidly intense and acute, so that here I believe we have a glimpse of the cause, not only of the marvelous intensity of the lascivious fancy, but of certain of the morbid perversions which have never yet been explained. The imagination is subjected to a most excessive strain in order to produce the desired climax, and sometimes a ritual of forms becomes established and closely associated with the voluptuous sensations. This may be in the form of definite and specific pictures, so that some of the forms of erotic fetishism are begun, or it may take the form of almost ritualized acts, or again erotic zones may be developed. The psychic methods of arousing adequate stimuli always involve a realism of fancy of which youth is especially capable and prone at this age, and for this time and purpose place the imagination not only on the level of reality in vividness, but above it. This is especially seen in the sad and well-known cases of mental masturbation which are not infrequent. The reciprocal relations between this vice and certain of the perversions of the power of imagery in youth, showing how easily illusions and hallucinations may arise in this soil, where love and fancy normally celebrate their glorious nuptials, is one of the most inviting chapters I know in the whole range of the new psychology. Not only the relations of the mind and the body in general, but the connection of art and Eros, can here be approached with a rich casuistic, if largely morbid, material.

We know that, despite the enormous number of spermatozoa in the average individual, the loss of concentration of albumin, lecithin, peptones, etc., can be a great drain upon the system. Moreover, spermin is now thought to play a very important rôle in removing products of decomposition.

Spermin,¹ $C_5H_{14}N_2$, is found normally in considerable quantities in the testes, prostate, thymus, milt, ovaries, and the blood, and is thought to play an important rôle in the respiration of tissues. When dissolved, it advances interorganic oxidation, and is a ferment which helps to remove the products of the regressive metamorphoses of albuminous substances or leucomains (as, since Gautier, all nitrogenous intermediate products of such change are called which are not oxidized as far as urea). These are formed constantly in both normal and morbid states, and at least many of these are toxic, like ptomaines. The accumulation of these predisposes the system to infection and causes other diseases. Spermin, according to this view, removes these products by further oxidation, thus preventing disease. Its activity diminishes with the alkalescence of the blood. The administration of testicular and other extracts of spermin, orally or subcutaneously, has thus beneficent therapeutic effects, and the reduction of it by masturbation, excessive venery, or disease favors all the disorders due to the accumulation of the above products of decomposition. Nerve tissue is freshened and self-feeling increased, and, as the upholders of the spermin-therapeutics hold, without any aid from suggestion. No doubt individual differences in this, as in all other respects, are great, and there is every indication that every organ suffers from the excessive loss of this substance, which is perhaps the highest and most complex of all things in the physical world.

The old phrase, *post coitus triste*, is illustrated in excess of all forms, and especially in self-abuse. Weakness always brings more or less depression, and in some cases the physical exhaustion of muscles and nerves, if intensified by excess, brings pain and traces of convulsion, epilepsy, palpitation, and photophobia, differing according to individual predispositions and powers of resistance. Neurasthenia, cerebrasthenia, spinal neurasthenia, and psychic impotence generally result not more in the loss of fluid than from expenditure of physical force and often by tissues connected with the sympathetic

¹ A. Poehl: Einwirkung des Spermins auf den Stoffumsatz. Zeits. f. klin. Med., 1894, p. 135 et seq.

system. Subjective light sensations, optical cramps, perhaps Basedow's disease, intensification of the patellar reflex, weak sluggishness of heart action and circulation seen in cold extremities, purple and dry skin, lassitude and flaccidity, clammy hands, anemic complexion, dry cough, and many digestive perversions can be often directly traced to this scourge of the human race. The onanistic psychosis seems especially to predispose to convulsive disorders like epilepsy, to which it is so akin, but weakness of memory and attention, paranoia, agitation, cachexia, various neuroses of the stomach which Preyer and Fournier have studied, dwarfing or hypertrophy of the organs themselves, and many of the lighter and transitory forms of psychic alienations, are produced.

One of the most direct moral effects is lying, secretive-ness, and hypocrisy which conceals or denies a whole area of interests very real to the subject, and this is closely connected with cowardice, timidity, egoism, and frivolity. The power of pity and sympathy is often almost extinguished. Self-control and will-power, purposive self-direction, resolute ability to grapple with difficulties mental or physical, to carry work that is begun through to its completion, are certain to decline.

Sometimes from excessive prudery the opposite state of loss of modesty may follow excessive venery. The masturbator's heart, so often discussed, is weak like his voice. Dr. Seerley diagnoses a murmur which he thinks an almost infallible sign. Dr. G. Bachin describes the "masturbator's heart," based on six interesting cases.¹ The very rise of temperature during the act lapses to listlessness and frigidity, and clamminess afterward. Too great tension, which may predispose to convulsions and reach an almost epileptic degree, is followed by an exhaustion which makes all lesser excitations seem pale and uninteresting. One who has tasted these forbidden joys of youth has a languid appetite for the larger, if less fevered, pleasure of the intellect, of friendship, of high enthusiasms, and lapses to a *nil admirari* indifference which is one of the worst signs in youth.

¹ Deutsche Arch. f. klin. Med., 1895, p. 201 *et seq.*

These effects might perhaps be summed up as phenomena of arrest. Growth, especially in the moral and intellectual regions, is dwarfed and stunted. There are early physical signs of decrepitude and senescence. Gray hairs, and especially baldness, a stooping and enfeebled gait, the impulsive and narrow egoism which always goes with overindulgence, marks of early caducity which may crop out in retina, in cochlea, in the muscular or nervous system, in the stomach—all the troubles ascribed to this cause are distinctly senescent in their nature. Life has been lived out with abandon; its energies have been overdrawn, and its wheels have run down like the mainspring of a clock the regulator of which has been lost, so that the term "fast" has a profound biological significance.

While it can not, of course, be mathematically demonstrated, it is nevertheless probable that worse and earlier than any of these psychic effects are those that appear in the offspring. Beginning with the gradual descendancy rather than ascendancy of the long line of posterity in proportion as the evil has become more intense, its effects are manifest, nearer, perhaps, in the incomplete maturity of mind and body in the next generation; in persistent infantilism or overripeness of children. If more intense, it affects the number of posterity, the power to nurse offspring by the female, and finally ends in complete sterility, always the penalty of the excessive selfishness, the greatest and most unpardonable of all sins, where the individual uses up in his own life all the energy of which he is merely the pilot and guardian and which is meant to transmit life to countless generations. This enfeeblement, brain instability, and all the deciduous phenomena connected with this vice; the loss of higher interests; the easy fatigue; inertness of affection, make the marital and paternal office at best inadequate and all high enthusiasms impossible, even though it were, as Schopenhauer said, something which might be permissible in those too old to become parents. The whole problem is so difficult and at the same time so vital that we are all liable to the fallacy of the feeble mind which grasps a problem too large for it, viz., to have recourse to extreme superficial views and to lay undue emphasis upon special and partial causes, cures,

or aspects of it. But although the best may be mistaken, let us not yield to the temptation of cowardice or psychic dishonesty, and ignore or deny its magnitude or importance. That here an immense problem looms up for all who study any department of the great science of man, whether his body or his mind, will now be generally recognized.

Another question much debated and of interest here is whether self-abuse itself can be the cause of a distinct type of insanity. The opinions of experts here have differed widely. Some believe its effects are seen only in forms of general deterioration and arrested development; others connect it in a more or less causal way with one or more of the morbid forms of sex perversion, or hold that it makes a psycho-physical soil which readily bears their dread fruit. Dr. Clark,¹ whose interesting demonstration that the act of self-abuse was attended by a rise of temperature of one or two degrees during the first half-hour, falling slowly later, and who thinks it rarely self-learned, doubts the existence of a true masturbatic insanity, although in those already insane some form of violence, blind fury, heightened automatisms, excited movements or efforts to escape often follow the act. Restlessness and constant mobility he holds to be in part a predisposition and sometimes an effect. Gowers thinks masturbation can properly be called a cause of epilepsy only if the arrest of the habit arrests the disease, but that the continuance of the disease after the arrest of the practise does not disprove causality, for, once established, the "conclusive habit" tends to continue. He inclines to think it more frequently causes untypical attacks than true epilepsy, and that self-abuse is a cause he does not doubt.

Spitzka² believes in masturbatic insanity, the onset of which he thinks marked by great variations of symptoms from day to day and week to week, now by destructiveness, now by lethargy, etc. At first the patient is listless in the morning and recuperates during the day; but in the late and hopeless stages the patient is best in the morning and grows silly, irritable, and lapses into progressive stupor toward night.

¹ Journal of Mental Science, 1888, p. 388.

² Journal of Mental Science, 1888, pp. 52 and 216.

Insanity due to masturbation he thinks five times as common among males as females, because for the latter Nature sets no limits. In persons of sound constitutions and heredity, it must be begun early and carried far to produce actual *vesania*, and he agrees with Clouston that quack advertisements produce nearly as much insanity by their appeals to fear and remorse as self-abuse itself. The symptoms are cerebral anemia, atonic muscles and expression, clammy hands, alternating spells of gluttony and anorexia, cowardice, suspecting the purity of all others, avoidance of rough, manly sports, neglect of toilet and dress, spells of sulks, pets and peevishness, *tedium vitæ*, outrageous selfishness, cunning self-accusation, cruelty, maliciousness, imperative ideas, morbid fear, strange somatic sensations, etc. Katatonia and cataleptic stupor may be episodes in insanity of this type. It differs from hebephrenia as original paranoia does from progressive dementia. The former is the ruin of an incomplete mental edifice, the latter is an edifice improperly founded and unsymmetrically completed. Spitzka considers sexual excess less dangerous, because self-abuse is begun earlier, can be carried to greater lengths, and is not limited, like the former, by the erector mechanism. The latter is usually attended by more or less of the noble emotion of love, masculine supremacy is asserted, and it is often felt to be an object of manly ambition while secret vice is only shameful, so that the moral effects of the two are almost antithetical.

Maudsley¹ thinks masturbatic can not always be distinguished from pubescent insanity, and that active alienation rarely results from self-abuse if the heredity is good. The vice he thinks most common and most severe in weak boys who have been most carefully protected, and been least among vigorous boys who have an abundance of other indulgences. The best help lies not in moral and religious appeals, but in stigmatizing it as dirty, sure to show in the face, etc., because vanity and a manly tone are often stronger than conscience. He regards the morbid mental symptoms from this cause as less serious if the habit breaks out early in pubescence before the sexual function has transformed the modes of thought and feeling, than if

¹ Pathology of Mind, p. 399 *et seq.*

it occurs later when sex has advanced further in its transformation of character. In a boy of seventeen or eighteen work is neglected, done in a slouchy and fitful way; he is moody, lazy, devoid of interest even in amusements, sullen, morose, self-sufficient, solitary, slovenly, or fastidious and exacting, hypochondriacal, and disposed to treat his imaginary ailments with special forms of exercise and diet. If it comes on later, society and especially ladies are shunned; there are fancied love sentiments and dramas with those very slightly known; physicians are consulted about imaginary symptoms or some sex problem. If the victim becomes engaged, he is even fuller of scruples about his fitness to marry, fears incompatibility or infidelity, like the heroes of Ibsen's *Love's Comedy*, that marriage degrades love, and so passes to new engagements. Sometimes his morality is superfine and scornful of the base ways of the world, while he is in thought and fact nasty and sensual. As a husband such an one is apt to be irascible, tyrannous, exacting, suspicious, and sometimes assaults and even murders result. As he does not really respect himself, he thinks he has lost the respect of others. The habit of self-abuse is less frequent and less hurtful in women.

Sturgis¹ believes that masturbation in some cases is the direct product of an hereditary tendency toward nervous and mental disorders, and that such a neurotic condition not only predisposes to this habit, but renders such subjects particularly prone to the evil effects which result from it. These, for the ordinary healthy young adult, he believes, as a rule, are very slight, although he estimates the percentage to be not less than eighty. Thus a great deal of the evil ascribed to this habit he holds exaggerated and overdrawn. The fright caused by belief in a derangement in this part of his nature is so common and great that he declares "that a large proportion of patients who consult the surgeon for treatment are really more hypochondriacs than sexual cripples; they dwell constantly upon the condition of these organs." Very little imagined change or peculiarity "produces a condition of nervous irritation which prevents them from thinking of anything else, and precludes them from pursuing their daily occupations with the ordinary

¹ *Sexual Debility in Man*, New York, 1900, p. 98 *et seq.*

zest and vigor with which they have been accustomed to perform their duties." Even where there is a slight real cause it would often play but a small rôle but for the mental disturbance thus produced.

Aristotle held that the testes maintained a tension of nerves and veins as a weaver's weight keeps his warp tight. Marro quotes a case of psychic impotence and melancholy due to lack of development of one testicle that was completely cured by an operation which inserted a silver one which the patient supposed normal. Two views are now prevalent to explain the close relation between these organs and the general vigor of the nervous system. One is that it is biologico-chemical and mediated by glandular secretions. This was held by Brown-Séquard and led to his spermal injections, and is strongly advocated by Poehl. Many men, especially in various stages of senescence, have reported great benefits from this treatment in increased energy for mental and physical work and in general buoyancy of spirits, but the opinion is now gaining ground that this is psychic and to a great extent due to suggestions. The other view is that it is dynamic and mediated by means of the nervous system and to some extent by consciousness. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to decide between these views; there may be truth in both. Certain it is, however, that the spermatozoa are very different from other testicular secretions, and that the two are, to quite an extent, independent variables. In his *History of Medicine*, Sprengel describes periods when the view, still met with among the ignorant, was felt in medical theory and practise that this fluid, like phlegm, might be noxious if allowed to accumulate. I have seen letters to quacks in which it was regarded as an excretion, and, like those of the bladder and intestines, something to be got rid of. I have conversed with at least four college students and graduates who held this view in both theory and practise and defended it. It hardly need be said that everything relevant that we know in biology and physiology indicates that nothing could be more false and pernicious.

While nothing is known of any special nerves mediating afferent sexual impressions, the reflex theory has long assumed special centers for sex activities. Gall thought the cerebellum the chief central organ of this function. Budge thought it in

the lumbar cord, which was assumed to mediate erection and ejaculation. Luys urged the claim of the pons; Tarchanoff of the corpora quadrigemina, basing his conclusions upon experiments on the frog; Albertoni of the thalami from studies of the turtle, which did suggest their importance for the act of embracing. Magnan assumed a hierarchy of four centers, viz., the spinal, mediating immediate reflexes, as in the onanism of complete idiocy and perhaps identical with the centers of Budge; the posterior spinal cerebral, limited by the medulla and mediating visual images and instinctive and brutal orgasms evoked by sight; third, the anterior cerebro-spinal, mediating psychic influences, and finally the anterior part of the cerebral centers representing the state of ecstasies and entomaniacs. Loss of balance and harmony between these four accounts for all alterations and perversions. The center has also been placed in the olfactory region, and Roux thinks it is the Rolandic near the ending of the nerves of general sensibility.

Rowe¹ holds that the *primum movens* of sexual phenomena is not central but peripheral. He agrees with K. Ebing, Beaunis, Tarchanoff, and Delbeuf, that the genesic glands, and more specifically the seminal elements themselves, are the points of departure for sensations absolutely new at puberty which profoundly modify intelligence, habit, and character. The heart, lungs, legs, and even the fore brain and testicles of frogs can be removed without arresting copulation when it has been begun, while section of the seminal vesicles stops it at once. Dilating them with a neutral fluid starts up afferent nervous processes which create artificial desire. This latter thus rests on the impulse of organs to function. The well-established cases of precocious maternity before menstruation, and the frequency of sexual precocity in idiots, which Sollier has noted, show that the desire may, in exceptional cases, antedate the complete development of the organs, and is not therefore entirely dependent upon them.

Wherever the higher center is, it is the seat of the purely affective state which precedes any intellectual representation, which makes the profound metamorphoses of puberty, that may cause an indefinable malaise, to sometimes reach the in-

¹ J. Rowe: *Psych. de l'Instinct Sexuel*, Paris, 1899, p. 96.

tensity of an obsession. With enamored adults there is often, besides the desire of pleasure, the very different desire to find quietude and surcease of excitation. Representative sex life is a complex of many kinds of sensations and images differing vastly according to habit and association. Sexual need is most closely associated with sensation of the organs. In the sexual psychopathy, which is due to precocious need before organs are developed, this association is not effected. Later and with experience the need awakens the images, and following Roux's terminology, there is a sexual hunger, or conversely the images awaken the need and there is sexual appetite, and the primacy is now of one and now of the other. In the next stage the opposite sex is closely felt, but without personal preference, representing perhaps Magnan's spinal and posterior cerebral stage. Every comely girl and every boy are attractive to each other, but there should be no falling in love. Coquetting on one side and showing off on the other impel each sex to a higher ideal and make each a stimulus to the other. Next in the spinal and anterior cerebral stage sexual selection occurs, and here the imagination transcends and perhaps transforms reality; and finally in the anterior cerebral stage the ideal and the real meet in the realization of the needs of marriage and companionship.

Moll¹ assumes as the basis of sexual life two instincts, one which he calls contractation or the tendency to touch, and the other the instinct of detumescence, or that to change—especially to discharge—the sexual organs, and from this he develops a theory which has much explanatory power for many abnormal phenomena. He agrees with Carus, and cites the philological indications gathered by Kleinpaul² to the same effect, that sexual life begins on a somatic basis with these two instincts, that there is a stage of relative undifferentiation in early puberty, and that it is at this point that heterosexuality makes itself manifest. At this time love, in the higher romantic and idealizing sense of the word, can also develop. With men this instinct, for physical reasons, is more in the foreground of consciousness, while women often give themselves to those

¹ See both his *Libido Sexualis*, Berlin, 1898, and *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, Berlin, 1899.

² *Die Rätsel der Sprache*.

they love with relative unconsciousness of the physical side, which is merged in higher psychic qualities. Havelock Ellis¹ lays great stress on the fact that these organs are by nature and in a primitive state, like the blossoms of flowers, thought most beautiful and an object of intense and concentrated interest and attention. Dress and modesty have tended to divert this interest into many unusual directions, and he suggests may have tended to homosexuality.

Whatever the analyses and localizations of the factors of this instinct, if not before, certainly and at the latest at early puberty, when the changes normal to that period supervene with attendant new sensations, these parts for a time, and especially in boys, play a great and hitherto not adequately recognized rôle in consciousness. Owing in part to the great variability of form, size, or function, or all together, very many boys suffer from the fear that they are abnormal in form and not infrequently life is for years overcast by apprehensions. Incidental comparisons with others made, for instance, in bathing, are very apt to suggest, as variability is so great, individual abnormality. Cases are given where several boys recently developed, on seeing others, have thought themselves deformed, and suffered acutely with manifold forebodings for the future. These fears often deepen into phobias when connected with the new activities normal to this period, and every variation is ascribed by a hypersensitive consciousness to abnormality of function or sin. From cases which might fill a small volume, I select here as typical one only, viz., that of a doctor of philosophy, prominent in his profession and a father of several healthful children, who writes in substance:²

The one greatest fear of all my boyhood was connected with my sexual organs; the big boys would expose us little ones, and said mine were too small. I began to brood over this, age eight; felt disgraced, and haunted with forebodings; one day there seemed a very slight inflammation, age twelve; I thought I had done a nameless sin, and prayed God to let me get well, which I soon did, but a morbid association between it and a hen's neck long persisted; I read literature on lost manhood, self-abuse, etc.; fancied I had all the diseases, and had committed the unpardonable sin; the first spontaneous emission

¹ *The Psychology of Sex*, vol. i, p. 109.

² See my *Study of Fears*, *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, January, 1897, vol. viii, p. 225.

nearly paralyzed me, but although I found myself still alive, felt that my days were numbered; I corresponded with a quack, and later began to study my urine with great alarm, and found plenty of marks of disease; there were reddish and whitish settlings, lack of color and overcolor, strong smell and no smell, it was too clear, too thick, too copious, too scanty, or, worst of all, had an iridescent scum; when fourteen I gradually settled to the fact that I was sexually abnormal, might possibly live seven years, till twenty-one, and then find what I had heard was a sure cure in marriage; I found encouragement from quack advertisements, which said the wretched beings sometimes held out for years; I lived on, and people said I was in robust health, but it was years before I realized that I was perfectly normal; Bible passages greatly aggravated my fears, such as one in Deut. xxiii, and others; as I look back, my entire youth from six to eighteen was made miserable from lack of knowledge that any one who knew anything of the nature of puberty might have given; this long sense of defect, dread of operations, shame and worry has left an indelible mark.

Dr. Seerley tells me he sees one hundred cases a year of young men who deem their case hopeless. One typical youth of good heredity and otherwise normal decided that he would not go to college, was ruined, and must soon inevitably become insane. Another bought a revolver and planned, after a farewell visit to his mother in a distant town, to shoot himself in despair. Another selected a spot at the river where he would drown himself, which he prepared to do, but almost by accident met a physician who persuaded him after two hours that he was all right, when he went to work with renewed courage, and now seems entering upon a promising career. Another young man selected a cord, which he carried in his pocket for a long time, trying to muster courage to hang himself, because he could only disgrace his friends and his parents, who had made so many sacrifices for him. Another gave up a promising career and shipped on a long voyage, hoping to find this a cure. Another turned on the gas at night, but was discovered and saved in time, etc.

Perhaps masturbation is the most perfect type of individual vice and sin. Where practised, not by the old or by defectives as mitigations of the dangers of procreation for those unfit for it, but by the young, it is perhaps the purest illustration of mere sense pleasure bought at the cost of the higher life. It is destructive of that perhaps most important thing in the world, the potency of good heredity; it is the acme of selfishness;

it is the violation of the restraint perhaps most of all imperative, and yet all we know points to the conclusion that it is far more common among civilized than among savage races, owing in part to the postponement of marriage. The ideals of chastity are perhaps the very highest that can be held up to youth during this ever lengthening probationary period. This is the hard price that man must pay for full maturity. Idleness and the protected life of students increase temptation, so does overfeeding, which also increases sterility, so that enjoyment and the power of effective parenthood which God and nature united part company and at a certain variable period become inversely as each other. Although the facts in this chapter may lessen respect for our race and make us less hopeful of its future, the saving fact remains that the outburst of adolescent growth still precedes that of sexual maturity. If this interval were to lessen instead of to increase, so that the race tended, as do abnormal individuals in it, toward a development of the sexual function so premature and intense as to interfere with or obviate the increased rate of growth now normal, this would mean sure ethnic devolution.

V. Whatever the facts concerning the extent of this vice, spontaneous emissions are probably as universal for unmarried youth as menstruation for women. Ignorance of this fact, even by the virtuous and normal, causes an amount of mental anguish in young men perhaps as great as the physical suffering caused by lack of proper instruction to young women beginning their periods. This is not recognized, and even the realization of it is often an immediate and unspeakable relief to those who would be pure. Maturity often first announces itself by nightly experiences that rouse the soul to a state of great alarm, that settles to a brooding anxiety. First let us look at the facts as seen in those who are more mature in their sexual life. I have in my possession three records kept by three unmarried men not far from thirty of their nightly spontaneous discharges, one, the best on record, by a virtuous, active, able man whom I know well, lacking but six months of eight continuous years, and all of them doctors of philosophy, who believed themselves to be normal. The best of these records averages about

three and a half such experiences per month, the most frequent being 5.14 for July, and the least frequent 2.28 for September for all the years taken together. There appears also a slight rise in April and another in November, with a fall in December. Frequency varies considerably in individuals. Here, too, we find a distinct psychic male cycle, but not a tendency to monthly groups, as in Nelson's case. On the upward curve there is growing vigor and euphoria and a progressive sense of the intensity of life, and after the climax a brief period of reduced energy. The variations of interval for the month are not great, and for the year in this best eight-year case the minimum number is thirty-seven and the maximum fifty. There is a spring and summer rise corresponding to the seasonal welling up of life. The variations in the amount or intensity of the climax seem to be quite as great as those in time. Fifty-nine per cent of all were of an interval of a week or less; forty per cent an interval of from one to four days; thirty-four per cent an interval of from eight to seventeen days, the longest being forty-two days. Poor condition, overwork and under-sleep tend to infrequency. Early morning is the most common time. Special precautions tend to delay, but their influence seems temporary. In low conditions or with unusual frequency the crisis is followed by depression, although normally there is a sense of distinct relief. Thus in males there seems to be a normal curve.

Very interesting in these data is the suggestion of a rather sharp line between excess and defect, of which it would almost seem that there is a subtle and rather acute physiological sense or instinct, as if the body or the soul, or both, were endowed by nature with a guiding principle which can be developed as a regulative, but which is easily obscured. This orienting instinct, implanted it may be as a special conscience, appears to respond as exquisitely as a sensitive flame, and despite abnormal habits suggests an original anchorage that is still operative.

Of special significance are the records of dreams and psychic states connected with the orgasms. Sometimes the latter are so entirely lost that waking consciousness finds no trace of them, and they can only be verified by physical results. In other cases there is a full drama of mentation and feeling

which can be recalled and written down with much detail. In by far the most cases, however, consciousness, even when the act causes full awakening from sleep, finds only scattered images, single words, gestures and acts, many of which would perhaps normally constitute no provocation. Many times the mental activity seems to be remote and incidental, and the mind retains in the morning nothing except perhaps a peculiar dress pattern, the shape of a finger nail, the back of a neck, the toss of a head, the movement of a foot, or the dressing of the hair. In such cases these images stand out for a time with the distinctness of a cameo and suggest that the origin of erotic fetishisms is largely to be found in sexual dreams. Very rarely is there any imagery of the organs themselves, but the tendency to irradiation is so strong as to reenforce the suggestion of so many other phenomena in this field that nature designs this experience to be long circuited and that it may give a peculiar ictus to almost any experience. Where waking occurs just afterward it seems at least possible that there may be much imagery that existed, but failed to be recalled to memory, possibly because the flow of psychic impressions was over very familiar fields, and this, therefore, was forgotten, while any eruption into new or unwonted channels stood out with distinctness. All these psychic phenomena, although very characteristic of man in his prime, are not so of the dreams of dawning puberty, which are far more vivid.

We have another very interesting suggestion of the tendency to irradiation in the fact that the inhibition *nismus* has become so frequent and strong before the end of the twenties. Before the mind is fully roused from slumber there is very often a blind impulsion to arrest the process or check it in almost any stage. Only in rare cases is this successful, so that sometimes the first waking experience is a sense of loss, waste, or regret. In still other although few cases, consciousness on awaking finds nothing but a vague, diffused glow of pleasure that mounts perhaps almost to ecstasy, a sense that life is immeasurably richer in enjoyment, that there are higher possibilities than it has ever entered into the soul before to conceive, that life has hitherto been on a low, dull plain, and that everything, or in other cases some one particular thing, has a charm or beauty about it hitherto unsuspected, as if the cerebro-

spinal system, on awakening, found itself impelled by the sympathetic system to a fulness and completeness of function which it had lost.

Of course more records and fuller ones are needed before anything better than tentative results can be gained, but the value of such data consists in part in the fact that they suggest the problem of how the reproductive function which maintains the race is originally related to the intellectual function which represents the experiences of the individual. In this field, which, so far as I know, is glimpsed here almost for the first time, it would be perilous to construct theories until more facts are forthcoming.

In his present state there is no doubt that man, in his best years, has normal spontaneous emissions far more frequently than is needful for the purposes of procreation, just as spermatozoa, as we have seen, are formed in vast and almost incalculable numbers. Probably in man, during his northward migration, the seasonal intensifications of this function were originally far greater than at present. Protection from wind and weather, the regulation of temperature, comfort, etc., like domesticity in the animal world, tend to obliterate seasonal rhythms, and it would appear also to substitute for these those of the sun's rotation, or especially of the moon and tides. If there have been tendencies to weekly rhythms, it is hard to bring them into relation with the long habit of rest one day in seven, where perhaps they belong in average male maturity. Moreover, if man was originally tropical, it would appear that seasonal differences would have been less and not over compensated by increasing adjustments by means of clothing, shelter, etc., as he penetrated northward; so that it is not impossible that the seasonal habit, which, as is well known, is found among races dwelling in the arctic regions, is itself derived from shorter periodicities instead of *vice versa*. The significance of this rhythm, the range or interval between its two extremes of tension and release, is no doubt of great individual and perhaps racial importance; while everything indicates that in general the longer the rhythm the better, and points to the one conclusion, that restraint is indispensable, and that during a period of more and more years in youth, if they are to mature well as civilization advances; and also that restraint is vastly

easier with a normal nature than is often said by those who are neurotic or have tasted too much forbidden fruit. Periodicity is probably as much stamped upon sleep and dream life as upon that of sex. The facts show also even in this field, where all problems of the relations of body and soul and the primacy of either or the concomitancy of both are far more accessible than in that of the muscles and will, how purely and abstractly speculative and impossible of solution, as immortality itself, are such theories as that of Lange and James. The best diatheses are those that gravitate toward the tense state, that develop all the vicarious functions of diversion, work of body and mind, exposure, perhaps excessive fatigue, and that find out ways of utilizing sexual tension on many long circuits. Work and occupations of interest that absorb need to be developed during the critical years probationary to procreation, with reference to normality there. When we know how to keep tense and use tension in this field we shall have solved some of the fundamental problems of education in all its largest aspects. Some have thought they found utility in a regimen of imagery more or less lewd, as a back fire or mental inoculation against too frequent orgasms, while others, let us hope more normal and more truly, have thought they found it in impulses to conceptions which suffuse the soul with a higher eroticism of the good, the beautiful, and the true.

Now, self-abuse greatly complicates this experience, and makes this function vastly more labile, as indeed do lascivious thoughts, imagery, and especially anxiety. If secret vice is practised before, the later teens often bring revulsion. Wisdom from within and without has by this time developed a sense of self-condemnation or fear, and reform is attempted and often achieved, but increased tension and the stress of the past habit augment spontaneous pollution in sleep. This causes fear, sometimes amounting to terror, lest control be lost and life now given over into the hands of blind and lethal powers against which conscious will and resolution are of no avail. Masturbation is felt to be controllable and the victim feels that he can stop at any time, but spontaneous emissions give a sense of being powerless in the hands of fate. Free will is lost and the youth feels helplessly possessed by his automatism. This frequently brings a dumb despair that

saps all the joy of life, may make it intolerable and lead to suicide. It is a little as if girls were led to feel when their periods come that they were in consequence of their own misdoings. The innate modesty of the young soul makes it all so sacredly secret that he can not muster courage to reveal his condition and appeal for help. Those to whom he should turn, who could inform and help by veiled hints and remote suggestions (for his apperception organs in this field give him prodigious understanding), are just those he feels it hardest to approach. Highly sensitized in every fiber, he fears censure or rebuke, and the very thought of that from those nearest and dearest he can not bear. The humiliation would be too great. Sometimes he tries to lead up to the topic indirectly, or tells his own troubles in the third person, or elaborately makes openings for conversation or instruction upon the subject, only to find that his elders feel positive reluctance to talk of it, or he asks directly only to find an ignorance equal to his own. Self-abuse is often common knowledge among mates, but not this involuntary experience. Thus he is twice helpless: he can do nothing to save himself, and he has learned that there is no help for him in his natural environment. There is no state or condition in life that the common phraseology of personal and hereditary sin and depravity fits so well as this. The young man is fighting the hottest battle of his life with the devil solitary and alone. Often his ill-judged and ignorant precautions themselves, and always and especially his concern, directly aggravate his troubles. Literature that treats of any aspect of sex, and often the worst sources of information only are accessible, is devoured with an avidity felt in no other subject. There is a great hunger to know the laws of life and reproduction. Every instinct impels to find again the right way. There is a self-loathing and loss of respect in the morning, and apprehension at night, that put a heavy strain on the nervous system, and that associate the exercise of this function, which should be the focus of all pleasant states of consciousness, with exquisitely painful emotions. These latter may rise to such strength as to even blight not only the prospects but the fruition of wedlock, and plant misery in the center of the garden of joy, bringing impotence, temporary and perhaps permanent, to natures that would otherwise be healthful.

It is in this state of mind that youth most needs father, pastor, mentor, or mature friend. He shrinks from the doctor, for that means fuller revelation, examination or full detection, but he seeks one who understands his trouble from afar, knows his symptoms in advance, has met many such cases, and will give him not general hygienic, religious or moral advice, but specific and especially material help. Doses and even appliances appeal to just his age, and so youth falls into the cunning web spread so alluringly for his unwary feet across the ways he most frequents. Lancaster¹ found a single New York broker who had 3,000,000 confidential letters written to advertising medical companies and doctors mostly by youth with their heart's blood and under assurances of secrecy, which are sold at fixed syndicate prices. I have bought 1,000 of them, and estimate that I could purchase at least 7,000,000 if I wished to go into this business, by addressing correspondence patients who had left other practitioners in this field discouraged but who were ready to try one more. That some try a fifth is shown by the fact that the stated price per thousand letters, guaranteed to have been sold but four times, is \$5. In these announcements the young man finds his every symptom and experience, and many more enumerated and described.

When the soul has entered upon this gloomy pathway to Avernus, everything seems to help it onward and downward. The fact that these organs are so much in his consciousness greatly stimulates their activity on the principle that *ubi stimulus ibi affluxus*. In every part attended to, blood gathers, as all plethysmograph experiments show, and to these parts most of all. A mass of symptoms, half real and half imagined, accumulates and slowly becomes organized into a body of delusions. Ignorant of the wide range of normal variations in the male, boys observe themselves, sometimes very consciously and methodically, even with mirrors, worry over every peculiarity of size, direction, shape, unequal pendency of testes, laxity of the scrotum, position of the prepuce, crook or twist, bilateral asymmetry, shade and color, change of vascularity, and become anxious urinoscopists, and the first

¹ Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence. Ped. Sem., July, 1897, vol. 2, pp. 61-128.

spontaneous discharge produces psychic perturbations that are entirely unnatural and often wild. Cases of the slight varicocele, not uncommon, especially on the left side at this age, are often thought to be a product of vice and excessive functions, with which, in fact, it has no more to do than has the texture of the hair. Youth strongly desires to be sound and natural sexually. The changes normal at this age attract attention in all, and in those of unstable temperament and heredity the new consciousness centering in sex has many symptoms which are often brooded over very secretly and affect profoundly the whole tone of mind and body. His case is graver than he had fancied, but however serious, there is hope and, better yet, sure relief. He is told (and here I follow circulars of what are to-day the leading firms in this line) that if he is irritable, discouraged, fears his manhood is lost or imperiled, has bad dreams, or unreliable memory, pimples, blotches, is easily fatigued, is bashful in the presence of the other sex, has lascivious thoughts, fancies, etc., symptoms some of which are inseparable from this time of life, his intellectual fabric is in jeopardy. A white deposit is commonly found in the urine, which is partly a normal secretion of the kidneys and partly mucus discharged as constantly from the walls of the bladder as from the inner nasal or abdominal cavities. This, the quack labels a sign of premature decay. The coil of tubes of the epididymis is easily observable, and this is the seat of the inflammatory process of varicocele, and the subtlety with which these practitioners draw attention to what would often be unnoticed and describe it as morbid, is one of the many grave, moral indictments against them. Is one of the testes lower or larger than the other; are they pendant or tense, of different tint from that of the limbs; is the prepuce long, short, retracted, or covering the glans; is there a twist in the urinal stream; is the organ small, too flaccid, turgescient or oblique, curved or twisted; is there pruritus, moisture or dryness; are veins visible; is there peristaltic movement, a sense of heat or cold—all these are lurid danger signals, and there is no time to lose. Their victims are often told that emissions occur in the urine, and one so far juggles with anatomy as to say the vital fluid can be lost through the bowels. Every detail of form of each organ is described as abnormal, and every flush, twinge, pain, palpitation, freak of appetite, becomes a symp-

tom of debility. No healthy man can read this "scare" literature without finding in himself a dozen ominous symptoms.

The victims thus enmeshed are sometimes sold placebos or harmless drugs, and if made well are really healed by faith or by alleviation of worry. Perhaps suggestion is never so potent as for those in this case. For many it may be true that as they believe so they are, and this leads me to think that the bread-pill theory and practise would often be benign here with the added psychic treatment suggested below. Bromides are sometimes given or general tonics sanctioned by the regular practise. Quacks well know the power of a name, and so call their nostrums by such suggestive names as sexine tablets, nerve seeds, Paris vital sparks, etc. Sometimes the drugs used are powerful erotics that aggravate and bring the hapless youth still more under the power of his blind and greedy guide. Most of the apparatus also is sold at exorbitant prices, that consume the savings of years and sometimes prompt to theft. Some are pencils, some catheters or tubes, the use of which may in rare medical cases do good, but the stated use of which is very exciting. Others sell wire springs, rubber, etc., to be wound about and prevent erethism or make it painful, which are always dangerous and frequently harmful; others offer so-called electric belts or suspensive apparatus. One "company" sells a glass cone and a rubber suction bulb, the vacuum thus produced causing an excitement, called by a physiologist far greater than that possible by any other known means, normal or abnormal.¹ A friend of the writer, an unusual specimen of physical purity and manhood and a physician, wrote recently in answer to an advertisement, that while he was otherwise thoroughly well, a hard worker, never had a doctor, and had an unusually healthy family, he had a marked feeling of inertia every morning when it was time to get up, and if he lifted a great weight with his maximal effort and in a stooping position, his eyes were sometimes momentarily blurred. The letter in response stated that the physician had called a special council for his case, which was a striking one of crypto-spermatorrhea, which perhaps might be not past cure if certain expensive medicines and apparatus were vigorously used within

¹ Here again I am indebted to Dr. Seerley.

thirty days. A visit later to this address revealed on a squalid house the name of a physician, on whose sign it was stated that his practise was by correspondence only and he could not be seen. A medical expert informs me that in some thousands of patients, not one thought they had received any benefit, but many confessed that their fear was so great that no price whatever would have deterred them.

It is painful to dwell upon such details, which could be easily multiplied indefinitely. Like many disagreeable themes, it is very rich for science, but the sole effort and desire here must be ethical, and to this end the extent and the reality of the evil must be understood. I will only briefly indicate a few cases believed to be typical. A young convert felt that he was losing his mind from nocturnal experiences, but found a motive to exceptional and incessant religious activity, so that in the short time left before he became an utter wreck he might do so much good and cling so close to God that it would be possible for him to be saved after his mind was gone. Another struggled for three years in the state above described before he could muster courage to write the doctor, had abandoned his purpose of entering the ministry because he felt unfit, finally staked the question of suicide on the results of the examination and conference that followed, and was found perfectly normal. Another, who had sought religion as a refuge and been converted, found that prayer and service for others could not help him, and so dropped out, gave up hope of ever having a home or family of his own, thought he had lost virility, and at last, after long brooding, visited a vile house to make the one experimental test of his life; nausea and high-keyed tension combined seemed to confirm his worst fears, but he was saved by a long, frank talk, and is now the proud and happy head of a promising young family. Another, who had not realized his ambition for studying in the high school, felt his intellect enfeebled from this cause, abandoned his plan of going to college, and enlisted as a common seaman in the navy, hoping to be cured by a life of hardship. His friends thought him a youth of singular ability and promise. A freshman, balked in his aspiration for purity, threw away his hopes of a career and resolved on a short life and a merry one, and, having means, became in fact the wreck he at first only fancied himself to be. One sought cure by

early marriage, faltered and fled, almost at the church door, feeling his unworthiness. The honeymoon could not overcome the distaste for normal sexuality so often developed in some of these cases. A sound and vigorous talk by a medical sage at an opportune moment may vanquish these fixed obsessions of impotence and all be well.

VI. Passing now to sexual pedagogy and regimen, the world presents probably no such opportunity to religion, the moralist, teacher, the wise father, the doctor who is also a philosopher. There is no such state of utter plasticity, such hunger for vital knowledge, counsel, sound advice. Young men in other respects headstrong, obstinate, self-sufficient, and independent, are here guided by a hint, a veiled allusion, a chance word of wisdom. The wisest man I know in these matters and the most experienced, a physician and also a religious teacher, goes to audiences of young men at the end of the academic year, who have been unmoved by the best revivalists, who are losing power just in proportion as they neglect to know or prudishly ignore this field, and wins men by the score to both virtue and piety. I have sat at his feet and tried to learn the secret of his method. It is simple, direct, concise, and in substance this: In these overtense cases the mind must first of all be relieved of worry, and it must be explained that excessive anxiety and attention is the chief provocative of nocturnal orgasms. This is itself often a cure. Then the assurance that such experiences, varying greatly with different individuals in frequency, are normal, and that their entire absence would be ominous for sexual health, often comes as a gospel of joy to victims of ignorance, as does the knowledge that their case is common and not unique and exceptional. Personal examination by one who has seen thousands of cases and who can speak with an authority that commands confidence in most cases, reveals none of the grave or even mild ailments that had grown to such alarming proportions in the rank soil of youthful fancy. Diversion to objective interests or tasks that are active and absorbing, confirmation of wills that are not sufficiently established against occasional lapses by showing how fundamental sexual health and its irradiation are for domestic happiness, for a religious life and altruism, a few hygienic pre-

cepts concerning sleep, food, pure air, bathing, exercise and regularity, and perhaps a little carefully selected biological reading, and in many, if not most cases, a wondrous change is wrought. Some describe their experience as having a great burden rolled off, a strain or chain removed, they seem to walk on air, feel themselves men again, their strength renewed, look back with self-pity upon their former folly, etc.

Ethical culture alone is very inadequate, and preaching or evangelistic work that ignores this evil is unsuccessful. Religion best meets these needs because it deals, if true, with what most affects the life of the young and what is the tap-root of so much that is best in them. Youth takes to religion at this age as its natural element. True conversion is as normal as the blossoming of a flower. The superiority of Christianity is that its corner-stone is love, and that it meets the needs of this most critical period of life as nothing else does. It is a synonym of maturity in altruism, and a religion that neglects this corner-stone, that is not helpful in this crisis, that is not entered upon now inevitably, is wanting. He is a poor psychologist of religion and a worse Christian teacher who, whether from ignorance or prudery, ignores or denies all this, or leaves the young to get on as best they may. Sex is a great psychic power which should be utilized for religion, which would be an inconceivably different thing without it, and one of the chief functions of the latter in the world is to normalize the former. Error blights the very roots of piety in the heart, atrophies the home-making faculties, and kills enthusiasm and altruism. Their curves of ascent and decline rise and fall together both in age and in normality, and very many church communicants are not what they would be but for some psycho-physical handicap of this nature. But *ubi virus, ibi virtus*. God and nature are benign, and recuperative agencies, in these years so supercharged with vitality, in cases that seem desperate, often act *cito, certe et jucunde*. The very excess of the physiological fecundating power in man which caused man's fall is so abounding that it may work his cure. Grave psychic dyscrasias due to passional states generally seem to be completely outgrown, and even gonorrhea and its sometimes persistent sequel, gleet, can not usually long withstand nature's *vis reparatoria* if reinforced by an hygienic habit of life.

That this department of sexual hygiene has been almost criminally neglected, none can doubt. Family physicians are almost never consulted by boys, and the great majority of doctors know almost nothing about the whole subject save the standard modes of treating a few specific diseases with overt symptoms; while clergymen, who should be spiritual and moral guides, know perhaps still less, and have often come to regard as superior ethical purity and refinement the sloth and cowardice that dreads to grapple with a repulsive and festering moral sore. While legislation is sadly needed for the protection of youth, instruction is no less imperative if the springs of heredity are to be kept pure. The blame rests mainly with the false and, I believe, morbid modesty so common in this country in all that pertains to sex. At Williams College, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Clark, I have made it a duty in my departmental teaching to speak very briefly but plainly to young men under my instruction, personally if I deemed it wise, and often, though here only in general terms, before student bodies, and I believe I have nowhere done more good, but it is a painful duty. It requires tact and some degree of hard and strenuous common sense rather than technical knowledge.

The medical cures of masturbation that have been prescribed are almost without number: bromide, ergot, lupin, blistering, clitoridectomy, section of certain nerves, small mechanical appliances, of which the Patent Office at Washington has quite a collection. Regimen rather than special treatment must, however, be chiefly relied on. Work reduces temptation and so does early rising, while excessive mental or physical effort easily fatigues before the power of resistance, caused by rapid growth, is acquired. Good music is a moral tonic. Lycurgus had the girls play before young men to stimulate them to their exercise; the Jesuits in Paraguay provided music to make the daily work of the Indians more tolerable and agreeable. Among the Romans it was forbidden to speak freely of things relating to sex in the presence of young men who still wore the *toga prætecta*, and Senator Manilus was condemned for kissing his wife in the presence of his daughter. Where the attention goes, innervation is roused and plethora may result.

The mystery of sex gives it a great attraction to youth. Kaan¹ thinks the study of sex organs and functions should begin in plants, and that thus the desire of learning is stimulated and sexual curiosity given an intellectual direction. Marro holds that young people should not be alone or build air castles, because the latter loosens the mental processes of association, while solitude and taciturnity are noxious, and when they appear adults should study their cause, for the latter often covers the slow incubation of morbid impulses. Goudin thinks early betrothal can be relied on to check the allurements of youthful roving loves.

Sexual activity is accompanied by increased internal heat and masturbators can bear surprising exposures to cold, but heat means precocity and exhaustion. Young Orientals who exercise marital functions at thirteen are worn out at thirty, and have recourse to aphrodisiacs. Yet cold is one of the best of all checks upon sexual excess, and in high latitudes venery is both later and less intense. The Spartan boys, when at twelve they exchanged the toga for the man's pallium, slept on straw or hay with no cover, and when fifteen slept on reeds. Marro has accomplished remarkable cures by cold hip baths applied many times a day, serving perhaps the purpose of Galen's lead plates. The strain is greatest upon youth vowed to monastic life, in whom sedentary habits and asceticism with insufficient exercise provoke error. Cold washing without wiping has special advantages.

Raciborski well calls this period a court of appeal or a day of judgment. Marro² advocates that the proper alimentation for this age is milk, bread, cereals, and vegetables rich in proteins and phosphorus, and little meat. Food must provide for the great consumption of hydrocarbonates, must give salt for the skeleton, albumin for the muscles, and fat for respiration; bread, milk, a little meat and fruits are good, while a diet of eggs, venison, aromas, coffee, and alcohol exaggerate dispositions now dangerous. He recommends a great deal of bathing and swimming, and even the vulgarized treatment of Kneipp, much of exercise, plenty of society, emulation, and rivalry. Marro also has a very strong belief in song to correct nervous

¹ *Psychopathia Sexualis.* ² *Med. Rev.*, July 22, 1894.

tensions and as a great autosuggestive power, and has striven to introduce it into reformatories for the young in Italy. He deems the acquisition of habits of work and the use of muscles, senses, and discipline, helpful; and would correct excessive presumption by due apprenticeship that brings a skill which develops self-confidence and satisfaction, but there must be struggle, effort, and perhaps conflict. Fear for girls at this stage is especially noxious, and, as Mosso has shown, diminishes sensibly the temperature.

There is also much to be said in favor of circumcision, at least for some. Since man assumed the upright position, and especially since he began to wear clothing, the part removed by this operation is less needed for protection, and has become a rudimentary organ with all the morbid tendencies these often exhibit. Arnold, an exceptionally experienced "Mohel," urges that the foreskin is a protection from frictional stimulation of the clothing, which may become a dangerous temptation if this natural covering be removed. The weight of opinion, however, is conversely that removal indurates the exposed surface, so that excitability is distinctly lessened. While uncleanness is less common as intelligence and civilization increase, while the best medical thought now inclines to the view that its dangers have been much over-rated, and while the percentages of phimosis are less than have been assumed, what may perhaps be called, on the other hand, the psycho-neural arguments for circumcision, appear to the writer to have great force. The anal, urinal and general reflex disturbances relieved by the operation reduce liability to certain local diseases, while its undoubted restraining influence on self-abuse, its tendency to withhold from sexual excess, and generally to stabilize and give poise to and probably to prolong the *vita sexualis*, should still preserve for this rite a unique place among mutilations, unprejudiced by its possibly phallic origin or its historic association with barbarism. Moreover, other and more specific reasons in the physiological psychology of the topic, which can not be entered upon in a volume intended for general reading, incline me, although a Gentile of Gentiles, to favor circumcision, if individually prescribed and if safe-guarded by the anesthetics, antiseptics, and other resources of modern surgery.

Trousers should not be too highly drawn up by suspenders, as boys are so prone to do, but should be left loose and lax. They should be made ample, despite fashions often unhygienic. The irritation otherwise caused may be an almost constant stimulus. Undergarments for both sexes should be loose and well cut away, and posture, automatisms and acts that cause friction should be discouraged. Too great thickness of garments here is harmful in another way, for coolness is no less essential. Pockets should be placed well to the side and not too deep, and should not be kept too full, while habitually keeping the hands in the pockets should be discouraged. Modern garments are less favorable to health in this respect than those of classical antiquity, the Orient, or even to a great extent those of savage races. In some institutions certain, and in others all, boys must wear pants open only at the sides. The body in general, and especially the head, hands, and neck, should not be too warmly dressed in cold weather. Of course, the ungrown body has more surface in proportion to its bulk than that of a larger adult, but sufficient cold sends the blood inward to nourish the internal organs, stimulates greater activity and generates warmth. Rooms, too, should not be kept too warm. With plenty of good out-of-door air, high temperature is far less deleterious than in close rooms, where the atmosphere is not in motion and is loaded with carbon dioxide.

Beds should be rather hard and the covering should be light, because too much not only produces excessive heat, but presses upon the body and reduces the effectiveness of circulatory and respiratory processes. Too soft a bed develops a diathesis of sensuous luxury and tempts to remain too long after awakening, and just this hour is probably the most dangerous time of all. We may not agree with a recent Italian writer who says, boys that lie abed late are almost sure to be masturbators, but the habit of retiring and rising early is by far the best for eyes and nerves as well as for morals. One or more windows should always be open at night in the sleeping-rooms of adolescents, and the temperature kept as low as is compatible with health. Each should have at least a bed, if not a room to himself, but it should not be too remote and not too secluded from adult observation. Everything possible

should be done to favor sleep as deep and sound in quality and usually as long in quantity as possible, and everything that seriously interferes with this end should be sedulously avoided, for in normal natures this conditions and is in direct proportion to the vigor of waking activities.

Some think, at least for girls, all that is needed can be taught by means of flowers and their fertilization, and that mature years will bring insight enough to apply it all to human life. Others would demonstrate on the cadaver so that in the presence of death knowledge may be given without passion. This I once saw in Paris, but can not commend for general use. An evil of such dimensions will be cured by no newly discovered method or specific, but only by courageous application for generations of the many means already known for strengthening the physical and moral nature. Some would merely give simple, direct, and honest answers to honest questions, being careful to go no further than to satisfy so much curiosity as had been aroused. Others would begin at eight or ten, before passion had awakened, and with no reserve tell everything by charts about the origin of life. Others would make it all mystic and symbolic, and some would leave all to nature or accidental sources of information. It seems clear and certain that in our modern life something should be taught, and that betimes. This should, I believe, be chiefly personal, and by fathers to sons and by mothers to daughters. It should be concise and plain, yet with all needed tact and delicacy in well-chosen words. It should be very brief, and not spun out like the well-meant and goody books on the subject that should be boiled down to about one-fiftieth their size and cost. This probably ought to be the most inspiring of all topics to teach, as to the truly pure in heart it is the most beautiful of all. In twilight, before the open fire, in the morning, in some hour of farewell, on a birthday, or any opportune confidential time, this most sacred topic could be rescued from evil or be given abiding good associations. The self-knowledge imparted that makes for health is perhaps almost the culminating function and duty of parenthood. It may be that in the future this kind of initiation will again become an art, and experts will tell us with more confidence how to do our duty to the manifold exigencies, types and stages of youth, and instead of feeling baffled and

defeated, we shall see that this age and theme is the supreme opening for the highest pedagogy to do its best and most transforming work, as well as being the greatest of all opportunities for the teacher of religion.

A physician, who does not betray his identity, elaborates in a pamphlet an address he gave at the fifty-ninth session of the American Medical Association¹ which was heartily approved by eight well-known practitioners who discussed it. It was in the form of an address to adolescent boys. He says, if a boy friend boasts to you of his sexual experience with girls, "drop acquaintance with that boy at once; he is trying to corrupt your mind by lying to you." If a boy in an unguarded moment tries to entice you to masturbatic experiments, he insults you. "Strike him at once and beat him as long as you can stand," etc. Forgive him in your mind, but never speak to him again. If he is the best fighter and beats you, take it as in a good cause. If a man scoundrel suggests indecent things, "slug him with a stick or a stone or anything else at hand." Give him a scar that all may see, and if you are arrested, tell the judge all and he will approve your act, even if it is not lawful. If a villain shows you a filthy book or picture, snatch it and give it to the first policeman you meet and help him to find the wretch. If a vile woman invites you, and perhaps tells a plausible story of her downfall, you can not strike her, but think of a glittering, poisonous snake. She is a degenerate and probably diseased, and even a touch may poison you and your children. He explains briefly the working of gonotoxin, when it begins and when it reaches heart, kidneys, joints, eyes, brain, etc., describes buboes and chancre, and explains the horrors of the latter, warns against all doctors who advertise, and tells of their methods.

The literature upon this topic falls into several classes. 1. Anthropological, treating of the sexual life of primitive people, like Ploss, and shading down to Jennings, Furlong, and writers on phallicism. That traces of the latter—if, as is often assumed, it was general—have been carefully scored away, makes the subject tempting to mystics who see its symbols in everything upright or circular. Despite the extravagances of this school, it must be admitted that their claims for the pervasiveness and wide and fantastic irradiations of sex symbolism have some support, or at least analogy, in the prurient fancy of a certain stage and class of youth to-day whose sensitiveness is so hypertrophied that they see indecent allusions in almost every form, act, and word. 2. The studies of abnormal phenomena, like those of Tarnowsky, Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, etc. Here, as always, morbid are often normal phenomena magnified, and from the literature of this class that should be unread save by the expert, I draw this momentous inference, that I have nowhere found stated, viz., *that there is almost no feature, article of dress, attitude, act, or even animal or perhaps object in nature, that may not have to some morbid soul specialized erogenic and erethic power.* If this be true even to any considerable extent, it shows that the eroticism may be cut loose from its natural excitants and be provoked by even remote accessories, and suggests the profoundly significant conclusion that esthetic pleasure in general is in considerable part of sexual origin,

¹ The Boys' Venereal Peril. Chicago, 1903, p. 35. See also Harvard: Monograph, The Venereal Peril; and Fournier's address to sons on attaining their eighteenth year.

and also that love is not only the strongest but also the most plastic of all the sentiments, and if not trained to the very highest possible objects may grovel to the lowest. 3. Studies of normal sexual psychology, like those of Finck, Scott, Glick, Bell, and also Ellis. 4. The vast biological literature. 5. That of warning, like Storer, Howe, M. W. Allen, Sperry, Blackwell, Warren, Richmond, Stall, Wilcox, Wilder, and Morley. Most of these are too long; however, some, written by well-intentioned religious people, have had wide sale and brought their authors great gain, and perhaps on the whole they do good. Even these groups do not include works like Ch. Feré, Auvard, Marwedel, Dückelmann, Gamble, Dantec, Bauer, Rowe, and, perhaps best of all, Ch. Wagner's *Youth*.

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CHAPTER VII

PERIODICITY

Periodicity in animals—Relation to seasons and length of life—Age of first menstruation and its relations to climate and social status—Precocity—Ideas and practises among savages—Psychic changes during the lunar month—Theories of the nature of menstruation—Wave theories—Irradiation in other parts—Changes in the blood, secretions, pulse, etc.—Psychic states in normal and morbid girls—Menstrual irregularities of excess and defect—Relation to crime and insanity—Cases—Relations to tide and moon—Corresponding rhythms in men—Present transitional stage of gynecology—Needs and regimen—Importance for psychology—Lessons for education.

PERIODS of rut or œstrus are frequent and regular in many of the higher animals:¹ monkey, mare, buffalo, zebra, hippopotamus, four weeks; sow, fifteen to eighteen days; sheep, two weeks; dog, nine to ten days. In the latter, according to Ketterer, mucous congestion, rupture, extravasation and degeneration of tissues, very like those processes in the human female, occur. In wild animals these periods are seasonal, usually occurring in the spring, and are in abeyance during the rest of the year. In extremely northern latitudes the return of long days and warm weather is marked by an outburst of venery, which becomes almost a rage, in which all the glands share, although during the cold arctic night this function is almost suspended. Traces of the old seasonal rhythm are still seen in women by tables showing a greater frequency of conceptions in May and June, and by the fact that statistics attest that the farther south we go the earlier the maximum of spring impregnations occur. Domestication with the increased regularity and abundance of food and protection has increased the frequency of these periods. Civilization has had a similar effect in rendering them more pronounced among women. Menstrual phenomena seem to be more and more marked as we pass up the scale. Lee says "it

¹ See the valuable presentation of this subject by F. S. Lee in the *Am. Text-Book of Physiology*, p. 898 *et seq.*, and *passim*.

is wholly probable that the menstrual periods of women are homologous of the frequent reproductive periods of the lower forms." Similarly, I think, we may interpret the vast number of ova and spermatozoa to be a survival in man of the enormous fecundity of lower species.

Heape¹ has studied with unusual care the menstruation and ovulation of a number of specimens, each of two species of monkey, the *Macacus rhesus* and the *Semopithecus entellus*. Their periods are marked by congestion of the skin of the abdomen, legs and tail, nipples, vulva, and face, together with regular flow of blood, detritus, etc. These animals have a definite breeding season, differing in different parts of India, but in the non-breeding season ovulation does not occur with menstruation, but is practically suspended. In seventeen cases there was no sign of a recent rupture of a follicle, although the other phenomena occurred. Heape thinks the human species once had a breeding season, and that traces of this remain in those periods of the female unfavorable to conception, and that at least ovulation is independent of the menses and may be suspended, the latter remaining regular as usual with no external sign that the most essential part of the function has ceased. It is remarkable that there was no trace of blood clot in the ruptured follicle of monkeys, although this is so distinct in the human female. In these species the periods occurred each month, and lasted about four days; and although breeding occasionally occurred at all seasons, spring had the marked preference, so that the time of gestation does not vary greatly from that of the human species. These valuable and detailed studies were chiefly histological, and shed no light on the phenomena attending the first onset of the period, but show that not only in the tolerable degree of regularity

| ANIMAL. | Age of adolescence. | Length of life. |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Dormouse | 3 months | 4-5 years. |
| Guinea-pig | 7 months | 6-7 years. |
| Lop rabbit | 8 months | 8 years. |
| Cat | 1 year | 12 years. |
| Goat | 1 year and 3 months | 12 years. |
| Fox | 1 year and 6 months | 13-14 years. |
| English cattle | 2 years | 18 years. |
| Large dogs | 2 years | 15-20 years. |
| Horses | 4 years and 6 months | 30 years. |
| Hog | 5 years | 30 years. |
| Hippopotamus | 5 years | 30 years. |
| Lion | 6 years | 30-40 years. |
| Arab horse | 8 years | 40 years. |
| Camel | 8 years | 40 years. |
| Elephant | 30 years | 100 years. |

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Society, vols. liv, lviii, lx, 1890, 1894, 1896, and Philos. Trans., vol. clxxxv.

eral tables to the contrary, Lullies thinks country girls are at least six months later than city girls. In eighty-three per cent of all the cases the periods were regularly established at once, and in seventeen they were irregular for a time. The average duration of the flow of those in whom it occurred regularly was 4.79 days. Seven and especially eight days are unusually frequent.

Lullies's Table for Prussia.

| YEAR. | | Per cent of all |
|---------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 10..... | 6, or 1 in 600, or | 0.17 |
| 11..... | 16, or 1 in 187, or | .53 |
| 12..... | 81, or 1 in 37, or | 2.70 |
| 13..... | 279, or 1 in 11, or | 9.30 |
| 14..... | 476, or 1 in 6, or | 15.87 |
| 15..... | 529, or 1 in 5, or | 17.63 |
| 16..... | 458, or 1 in 7, or | 15.27 |
| 17..... | 470, or 1 in 7, or | 14.00 |
| 18..... | 275, or 1 in 11, or | 9.17 |
| 19..... | 242, or 1 in 12, or | 8.07 |
| 20..... | 122, or 1 in 25, or | 4.07 |
| 21..... | 55, or 1 in 54, or | 1.83 |
| 22..... | 19, or 1 in 158, or | .63 |
| 23..... | 15, or 1 in 200, or | .05 |
| 24..... | 4, or 1 in 750, or | .13 |
| 25..... | 1, or 1 in 3,000, or | .03 |
| 26..... | 1, or 1 in 3,000, or | .03 |
| 27..... | 1, or 1 in 3,000, or | .03 |
| 28..... | 1, or 1 in 3,000, or | .03 |

Dr. Joubert¹ thinks, with Playfair, that the influence of climate on menstruation has been exaggerated, and constructs a table to show that racial differences are slight if other conditions are similar. Precocity, he thinks, is due to too early knowledge and sexual excitement, and he lays great stress on the contrast between the ignorance in which European girls are raised and the utter want of domestic privacy in the East. Everything is seen and known in India by girls at eight or ten, and the sexual excitement to which child-brides are subjected is a potent factor. Weber lays stress upon race more than climate. Krieger thinks the mode of life has less influence than altitude above the sea. Mosca thinks that it is earlier in higher classes, latest in peasants, and intermediate among clergy, merchants, etc. Weber suggests that students, actresses, and teachers report earliest ages.

¹ The Supposed Influence of Tropical Climate on Menstruation: C. H. Joubert Indian Med. Gazette, Calcutta, April, 1895, p. 129.

Raciborski¹ compiled with indefatigable industry the following table on the relation of the average temperature and of latitude to puberty:

| PLACE | Temperature C.° | Beginning of Menstruation. | | | Latitude. |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----|----|-------------------|
| So. Asia..... | 25.6 | 12 | 10 | 27 | 18° 56' — 22° 35' |
| Corfu..... | 18. | 14 | 0 | 0 | 39° 38' |
| Toulon..... | 16.75 | 14 | 0 | 5 | 43° 7' 28" |
| Montpellier..... | 15.30 | 14 | 1 | 26 | 43° 36' |
| Florence..... | 15.3 | 14 | 6 | 1 | 43° 47' |
| Marseilles..... | 14.75 | 13 | 7 | 24 | 43° 17' 52" |
| Nîmes..... | 14.32 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 43° 50' |
| Madrid..... | 14.02 | 15 | 0 | 13 | 40° 25' (39-43) |
| Lyons..... | 12.44 | 15 | 5 | 16 | 45° 45' 45" |
| Sables d'Olonne..... | 12.25 | 14 | 8 | 11 | 46° 29' 48" |
| Rouen..... | 11.57 | 14 | 9 | 3 | 49° 26' 29" |
| London..... | 11.04 | 14 | 9 | 19 | 51° 31' |
| Paris..... | 10.50 | 14 | 11 | 9 | 48° 50' 13" |
| Vienna..... | 10.1 | 15 | 8 | 15 | 48° 13' |
| Strassburg..... | 9.80 | 15 | 3 | 11 | 48° 30' |
| Göttingen..... | 9.1 | 16 | 0 | 10 | 51° 32' |
| Manchester..... | 8.7 | 15 | 2 | 14 | 58° 29' |
| Copenhagen..... | 8.2 | 16 | 9 | 25 | 55° 41' |
| Warsaw..... | 7.5 | 15 | 9 | 0 | 52° 13' |
| Berlin..... | 7.03 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 52° 30' |
| Stockholm..... | 5.6 | 15 | 8 | 0 | 59° 21' |
| Christiania..... | 5.6 | 16 | 1 | 15 | 59° 54' |
| Kazan..... | 2.2 | 15 | 3 | 20 | 55° 48' |
| Lapland..... | 0 | 16 | 7 | 27 | 68° |

In a late paper Engelmann reaches remarkable conclusions concerning the age of first menstruation on the Western continent. From Matthews's study of sub-arctic Indians, and from his and others' data for Eskimos (12.6) and Robertson's study of plantation negroes in Jamaica and Barbados (15.6), etc., he infers "an early puberty at the pole and retarded development near the equator, conditions diametrically opposed to what has hitherto been accepted."² He also finds American women "very much more precocious than the women of other continents in the same region of the temperate zone, more precocious than the peoples from whom they have sprung, an average of 14 on this continent and 15.5 in Europe." The native American is more precocious than the American born

¹ *Traité de la Menstruation*, 1868, p. 200.

² *The Age of First Menstruation in the North American Continent*. Trans. of the Am. Gyn. Soc., 1901.

of foreign parents, and only one year behind his average for southern climates. Climate here has practically no influence; race, very little. This is due chiefly to mentality and nerve stimulation, which also hastens the development of the red and black races. Here, too, he finds the difference between the development of girls of the refined and those of the laboring classes to average less than half a year, so that this change takes place here nearer the same age in all classes, and also there is found to be less individual difference. One of Engelmann's curves gives American girls at 14, Irish at 15, and German at 16. The influence of social state and race, which seems established at least in Europe, often appears on this continent to be overridden by that of nerve strain. The *milieu* stimulates "the psychic phenomena reverberating clearly in the genital plexus," suggesting that the influence of environment is greater in this respect than that of heredity. If this be so, a cold climate must be ranked with, and not against, mentality as a cause of acceleration, and it would seem to follow that education in a temperate or subarctic zone is more productive of precocity than in the south, and if general nervous stimulus is the cause, the same schooling is more dangerous in the city than in the country.

In rare cases this function may be very premature. Dr. Peeples¹ reports a case of a primipara where the child was beautiful, well grown, and in the best of health, with breasts and reproductive organs remarkably well developed, having a full and proficiently studied menstruation at the age of five days. Dr. I. W. Irons² reports a girl seven days old who menstruated from December to August, the period during which it was under observation, regularly. Dr. P. E. Plumb³ reports a healthy girl who began to menstruate at the age of six weeks and continued to do so every six weeks for ten months, or up to the date of this report. Dr. Howe⁴ describes a case where menstruation began at three, continued regularly for six periods, then stopped for eight months and

¹ Dr. D. L. Peeples: New York Med. Jour., March 30, 1885.

² N. Y. Med. Jour., August 15, 1896.

³ N. Y. Med. Jour., July 5, 1897.

⁴ Brit. Med. Jour., part i, vol. ii, 1896, p. 653.

resumed. The child was otherwise normal, but looked four or five years older, and had marked sexual development of a child still older. Dr. Price¹ describes a remarkable case of a girl of six years and seven months who was mature apparently in every respect. Some features of puberty were observed at eighteen months—pubic and axillary hair—and menstruation occurred early in the fourth year. In reporting a case of menstrual precocity at the age of four years and nine months, Dr. Seuvre² takes occasion to gather a few facts from literature and from his own observations to refute the general impression that precocity usually goes with early cessation of the powers of maternity. His own view is, that the earlier the sex function develops in girls the later it continues and the greater the probability of numerous progeny. Often at least such persons continue to bear children to an advanced age. Similar cases could easily be greatly multiplied.

Instead of being seen to be the inflorescence of the human plant, like its analogues, the blossoms and ripeness of the vegetable and rut in the animal world, both its first and its subsequent appearance have been regarded with great awe and generally with aversion. Among some primitive races³ women wear a special costume, badge, or symbol at the first, and often at subsequent monthly periods. The forms and ceremonies that mark the advent of this sign of maturity are very diverse, and often initiations are severe and are intended to drive out the demon of uncleanness. Tattooing, isolation, many local operations, fasting, close confinement, nauseous food, etc., show that these phenomena have generally seemed to primitive hygiene not only mysterious, but that, analogous though it seems to heat in animals when the male is especially attracted, it has had a repellent effect upon man. The old idea was that this function was a periodic purification to rid the body and soul of a previous contamination of original sin. Woman's reserve, too, is increased rather than diminished at these periods, and many superstitions of infection and contagion augment this mutual withdrawal and perhaps taboo. Every-

¹ New Orleans Med. and Surg. Jour., August, 1896, p. 104.

² Union Med. de Nord. Est., January 30, 1897.

³ Ploss: Das Weib, pp. 228-285.

thing known upon this subject seems to indicate that these repellent tendencies are very ancient as well as universal, so that it is impossible to determine how much is due to the accumulated effects of immemorial usage, and whether, e. g., the depression and perhaps even the psychic and physical pains may be inherited effects of the ages of ostracism and cruelty suffered at these times. What we are coming to know from recent studies of hysteria of its metamorphic nature, and the readiness with which psychalgia passes to somatalgia, and even *vice versa*, inclines the writer to the view that in the psycho-sensory changes of the lunar months modern women recapitulate atavistically the effect of ages of such error and misuse, and that few, if any, topics in the whole biopsychic field are as interesting, tantalizingly baffling though they are, for all who have fully adopted the genetic standpoint, as the phenomena and usages that center about the *menstrum virginis primum* and the subsequent catamenia with the attendant magic, superstitions, usages, surprises, and all that early writers comprised under the term parthenologia.

II. Precisely what menstruation is, is not yet very well known. It was not long ago held that in the human female it can not be the homologue of œstrus in animals, because women then have no desire, and men are repelled. Desire has been held to be relieved by the flow, which Wiltshire held was more sanguineous the higher the animal. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell says the flow itself is a competent relief of sex feeling, and Icard thought that thus virginity was safeguarded. Havelock Ellis¹ boldly champions the view that normally the desire and flow coincide in time, and has gathered statements of women confirming this view. The facts on which the aversion theory rests, he thinks, are superposed by convention upon and belie nature. If ardor is not present, it may be due to languor produced by the process, conformity to custom, or to fear of arousing disgust in man, who superstitiously thinks it dangerous for him or for the offspring. Here again, if this view is correct,

¹ In his valuable chapter on Sexual Periodicity, in his *Psychology of Sex*, 1900, p. 53 *et seq.* See also *Menstruation et Fécondation Physiologique et Pathologique*. A. Auvard, Paris, 1895.

our race has rebelled against its own nature, and in this instance the medieval Church aided the revolt. Indeed, just as savages magnify, but civilized races hide and minimize, the organs as centers of attraction, as Moll says has occurred in secondary sex qualities like the beard, so it may be menstruation is now magnified in importance by the attention it receives, and in an age that considers it less it will lapse to a less regarded and therefore normal place. In very rare cases, apparently normal (Ellis, p. 54), it may all be absent.

Raciborski's careful and still valuable work¹ on puberty in girls, that was stimulated by a prize offered by the Royal Academy for the best memoir on the physiology of menstruation and its relation to diseases, and Bouchet's treatise² upon this subject, marked the first advance that had been made since Aristotle and Pliny. Considering the methods at his disposal, Raciborski's contributions to the subject were remarkable and almost epoch-making. He investigated the influence of climate, temperament, race, urged the very great impressionability of the sex organs to music, the development of the Graafian follicles, the action of different emménagogues, and treated Malthusianism also with great sagacity, the improvement of public morality by early marriage, senescence, superfoetation, hygiene, etc. In 1852 Tilt found that of 1,000 girls twenty-five per cent were totally unprepared. Many were frightened, thought themselves wounded, washed in cold water, etc. Laborde³ assumed that woman is what she is by virtue of the uterus, thought menstruation a peculiar erectile process, wondered that man did not share it, and sought to trace a *rapprochement* between the diseases of puberty and those most liable to occur at the menopause.

Bassat,⁴ in his comprehensive thesis, to which a valuable and copious bibliography is appended, defines puberty in woman not as the period of the development of pubic hair, as the etymology of the word suggests, but as the age of the growth which accompanies the maturation and escape of the

¹ *La Puberté chez la Femme*, 1844, p. 520.

² *Théorie de l'Ovulation Spontanée*, 1847.

³ *Quelques Considérations sur la Puberté chez la Femme et sur la Menopause*. Thèse, Paris, 1860.

⁴ *Étude sur la Puberté chez la Femme*. Montpellier, 1867, p. 134.

ovule, and his motto is, "The whole woman is in the ovaries." The girl ceases the play of a child, seeks solitude and indulges in reverie and contemplation, is joyous and sad by turns. A new timidity and modesty appears; she seeks strong and more special friendships with her companions, or would forget all else in a more ardent love of her mother. These, however, do not satisfy her, and she is joyous and sad by turns. The other sex seems more beautiful and attractive, and yet perhaps there is a new shyness in the presence of young men. Increased sensibility, more blushing, vague desires, emptiness of heart, and sometimes a disposition to follow and perhaps brood on the changes which occur in body and soul with introspection, curiosity, and perhaps awe, are noted. There are often obscure symptoms of disease of mind and body, which threaten, but only in a minority of cases become overt, and nature usually is able to slowly establish a normal rhythm between plethora and anemia on which the hygienic and moral future depend. Each sense is more acute, the imagination more lively, reveries more frequent. In dress she blossoms into colors, a new moral hygiene is slowly added, more manifold exercises are needed, and increased rest in sleep, for there is great feebleness at this plastic age. This paper shows how far knowledge of this subject had progressed before what may be called the modern period.

But we are not here concerned with the history of the topic. Both physiologists and gynecologists differ widely both as to the causes and nature of menstruation. Some ascribe the chief or primal rôle to the ovaries, some to uterine processes, some to the nerves; and it is certain that the first two can and often do act independently of each other. Current views, which seem to the writer as no longer incapable of harmonization in our higher synthesis, may be summarized from their leading representatives as follows:

Most widely held now is probably the theory of Pflüger's, that the significance of menstruation is not to escape plethora, but to denude a fresh uterine surface to which the egg, if impregnated, can graft itself. The constant ovarian growth causes a reflex stimulation which tumefies the uterus and probably also matures a Graafian follicle. Both ovulation and the monthly flow, while very distinct phenomena, either of which

may occur without the other, are yet both due to this congestion. By one process the nest is prepared, by the other the egg is laid in it. If the ovum is fertilized and attaches itself to the thickened uterine wall, then the menstrual decidua become the decidua of pregnancy, and are not detached till parturition, of which menstruation is the homologue and forerunner.¹ Pflüger thus holds that menstruation and ovulation have thus only a reflex connection, and that the former is a periodic wounding of the surface in order that the ovum may be more readily attached to it.² This view is not inconsistent with that which Virchow was the first to suggest, that every monthly illness is a pregnancy on a small scale. Aveling long ago pointed out the difference and similarities between a womb and a nest, and considered menstruation as infecund oviposition. Changes in the uterine mucus, he thought preparatory nidification. The decidua were nidal and nidation could come on independently of the ovaries. Occasionally the nest was ready too soon or in vain, and at other times was unfinished and too early. Hypernidation sometimes may be due to decline of nutrition, and may cause sterility. The nest may be expelled whole.³ Jacobi thinks it the homologue of parturition and perhaps an ontogenetic relict of the frequent births of lower forms.

Lowenthal * thinks that the unfertilized ovum causes the menstrual decay of tissue which its impregnation prevents, and opposes the idea that the relation between these two events is merely temporal. On this view the periodicity of the hemorrhages depends on the duration of the extra follicular life power of the imbedded but unimpregnated egg. Menstrual hemorrhage, he thinks, is not physiological, but the natural effect of the non-impregnation and consequent death of the ovum, and must be regarded like other pathological bleedings and the flux be reduced to a minimum, so that amenorrhoea is not always a disease and diapedism is the least morbid way. King * also thinks menstruation a pathological process, and that women live abnormally in sex. Nature requires them to bear children throughout their sexual life,

¹ See Am. Text-Book of Physiology, p. 399. Also, Lee: Reproduction, p. 898.

² Untersuchungen, 1865.

³ Nidation in the Human Female. Obstet. Journal of Great Britain and Ireland, July, 1874, p. 209.

* Eine neue Deutung des Menst. Processes. Arch. f. Gynäcol., 1889, pp. 169-261.

⁵ Am. Jour. of Obstet., 1875.

and thus to mostly escape menstruation. Stemham¹ says, on the contrary, that it is a physiological adaptation of a special kind to keep the uterus in functional health, and while it is pathological in bleeding and degeneration, it is otherwise essentially normal, and no more abnormal than the excessive production of ova. It seems to be an adjustment, so that there shall be times favorable and others unfavorable for conception.

Oliver² approached the subject in a somewhat unique and philosophical way by assuming that the molecular world is in a condition of highly sensitized vital trepidation, and that equilibrium is the outcome of inherent powers of adaptation. Both structural and functional integrity are maintained in the animal body by the dependence of organs upon each other, and every tissue and part is thus in a relation of vicarious compensation, and this is a fundamental law. All double organs compensate, growing and doing extra work if the other is incapacitated. Uterine changes are anticipated by spontaneous ones in the nerve-centers, perhaps in the oblongata, so that neural symptoms may grow and be quite developed without the common physical changes. The periodic death of the endometrium does not start in the mucous membrane, is not the analogue of the loss and reproduction of limbs, the shedding of its skin by the serpent, moulting, etc. There are frequently monthly disturbances of the psyche with menstruation, and epilepsy is the disease which most effects it. This nervous rhythm, as it were out toward the next generation, is due to some gradual but unknown vital energy which is primary. Ovulation he too saw to be a process quite distinct and apart.

Westphalen³ believed that he had decided finally the question whether menstruation is a shedding of the outer mucous layer and the consecutive regeneration of its mucous. He concludes, first, that diffuse fine granular infiltration of fat is at all times a frequent finding in normal uterine mucous and is in no causal relation to bleeding; second, that the shed tissue undergoes fatty degeneration; third, at the end of the period there is an increased tendency to fatty metamorphosis of the protoplasm in the upper mucous membrane. This fatification is not death of the part, for it can be resorbed. As to whether in different phases of menstruation the conditions for the insertion of an egg are differently favorable, and what time is most so, is not yet solvable. From his studies upon extirpations and scrapings of fifty cases, he concludes that the cells, especially those of the epithelium, are renewed by indirect cell division periodically from six to eighteen days after the beginning of menstruation, and from the eighteenth day onward no proliferation occurs. The decidua are simply decadent

¹ Menst. und Ovulation in ihre gegenständliche Beziehungen. Gekrönte Preisschrift, Leipzig, 1890.

² Menstruation: Its Nerve Origin not a shedding of Mucous Membrane. *Jour. of Anatomy and Physiology*, 1886-67, p. 378.

³ Zur Physiol. der Menstr. *Arch. f. Gynäcol.*, 1896, p. 35.

growths, broken down and removed after they are dead by gravity, a process made easy and economical by man's upright position.

It seems that man's self-domestication has had upon his own species the same result of increased fecundity and more frequent reproductive periods that it has had upon domesticated plants and animals. Menstrual phenomena seem more pronounced in the higher forms of animal life, and it has even been suggested that we may infer that in woman they will increase as civilization advances.

Reinl¹ held menstruation a result of a periodical disturbance of the entire circulatory system, and describes a growing contraction of vessels alternating with hyperæmia, which is greatly accentuated by puberty. He believed in the existence of this rhythmic period in men, children, and old people as well as during pregnancy and lactation. Degeneration and removal of the ovaries does not affect the form of this wave, and menstruation is only one manifestation of it. The wave may take many forms and even be reversed in pathological cases.

Dr. O. W. Johnston² may be cited as the best representative of the neuro-ovulation theory. The ovaries are active before birth and continue to form follicles as long as the woman lives. She ripens probably four or five a year, but this has nothing to do with rut. The latter in animals occurs when they are at the very top of their condition and never when they have all they can do to live. As civilization has overcome climate, man may be said to be always at his best. Thus deer rut in the fall, birds in the spring, etc. All animals have desquamation times after the procreative periods, when hair, antlers, etc., are shed. Sex ornaments are akin to the manufacture and decay of the endometrium, as are feathers, papillæ, and other sex decorations, arising as they do from the same embryonic layer. Thus we have here only a special case of karyokinetic growth and of the regeneration of tissue by which all wear and tear is supplied. Remak's view, that

¹ Die Wellenbewegung der Lebensprocesses des Weibes. Samml. klin. Vorträge Gynäcol., No. 67 (whole No. 243).

² Relation of Menstruation to Other Reproductive Functions. Am. Jour. of Obstetrics, 1895, p. 33.

the sensory motor system comes from the epiblast; the muscles, bones, excretory, secretory, and generative organs from the mesoblast; while the hypoblast is largely nutritive, is said to favor this standpoint.

The first really careful curves of temperature were plotted by Dr. Stephenson,¹ while Dr. Jacobi established the first proof of a nutritive wave. The pulse tension curve culminating a few days before menstruation is generally accepted as another part of the well-marked curve of vital energy. Stephenson held that equal parts of the curve were below and above the line; that they varied with individuals; that the temperature wave was most uniform in its rise and fall, and that the waves were more or less independent of each other.

This wave may be further described as follows: From about seventeen days after the cessation of the flow, the pelvis is anemic and the curve is a low level plateau with few and slight modifications and but a very gradual ascent. On or near the eighteenth day the rise is distinct and increasingly rapid, reaching its greatest angle of ascent about the twenty-third day, and continuing to augment till hydrostatic pressure causes local hemorrhage, when the pressure falls rapidly and the process is repeated twenty-eight days later.² This view may perhaps harmonize with the older conception of the dominance of the uterine nerve plexi as a sort of pelvic brain, analogous to the solar plexus, often called the abdominal brain. This uterine center would thus be a sort of telephonic switchboard, and hysteria would be due to derangement of its connections. In addition to the above blood pressure curve, there is a closely coinciding urea wave and a carbonic acid wave, the ash and smoke respectively of the combustion of the products of a hyperanabolic activity. These are indexes of the increased oxidation just preceding the flux necessary to get rid of the albuminoid surplus in the blood, produced because every normal female constantly produces food for two. Menstruation is a vast improvement upon the way in which this surplus in the endometrium, de-

¹ On the Menstrual Wave. *Am. Jour. of Obstetrics*, 1882, vol. xv, p. 287.

² *Pathol. Aspects of the Stephenson Wave*. O. W. Johnston, M.D., *Amer. Jour. Obstet.*, vol. xxxi, 1895, p. 662.

posited there for the manufacture of the placenta, was got rid of by slow absorption before the erect position was attained.

The Stephenson wave¹ thus best explains vicarious menstruation. It is a process in upright animals akin to moulting or yearly loss of horns, hair, etc., and is a great biologic advance over the process so common among the lower animals of slowly removing the endometrium through the lymphatics. If there is obstruction, the wave is thrown to whatever point of the system is weakest. Every trouble in woman, which is aggravated or relieved at the same point of the menstrual wave, be it trough or crest, demands that special attention be given to the pelvis. Dr. Johnston found these periodicities in many cases of indigestion, constipation, liver symptoms, glycosuria, certain inflammation and congestion and Bright's disease, Basedow's disease, loss or weakness of voice, tinnitus aurium, amblyopia, choked disk, many brain troubles, etc., which are really inexplicable without knowledge of this wave, the detection of which, Dr. Johnston thinks, "is equaled in its benefits to our calling only by Harvey's immortal discovery." About five days after the onset of the flow is the best time to perform surgical operations in the anemic trough of the wave. Just what of all the great number of periodic phenomena are causative, concomitant, or resultant, can not yet be told. If this author is right, that only five ova ripen each year, it would seem that the ovarian factor is less central than has been thought. He too holds that there are traces of such a wave observant in males.

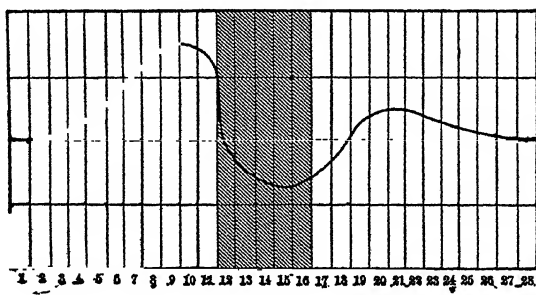
The curve on p. 488, from Engelmann,² illustrates almost equally well the rise and fall of pulse, temperature, blood pressure, muscular force, pulmonary capacity, morbid nervous symptoms, like the hystero-neuroses and the anatomical changes which he found in the uterine mucosa. This wave does not represent the amount or degree, but only the time of these undulations, the numbers being the days of the mensal period and the shaded days those of the flux.

The cyclic theory in its various forms assumes nervous centers in the walls of the blood vessels, which slowly elab-

¹ The Clinical Importance of the Menstrual Wave, by C. A. Johnston, M. D. *Gynecol. Trans.*, 1896, p. 57.

² The American Girl of To-day. *Am. Physical Ed. Rev.*, November, 1901.

orate power and contract the arterial muscular coats, acting partly by their own law and partly dependent upon higher nerve-centers, and thus cause a slight elevation of pressure throughout the entire body, till in certain parts best adapted thereto anatomically the hemorrhage occurs when the vascular tension becomes sufficiently high. Even in pregnancy traces of these periods often continue, and miscarriages are more liable at such times. No surgical operation during or just preceding the monthly epoch should be performed. Vicarious menstruation is not uncommon and flow of blood is



then harder to stanch. Sleep, hibernation, peristaltic action, the uterine contractions once every two to thirty minutes, are at root, like menstrual periodic muscular phenomena, of nervous origin. Prepubertal growth is hypertrophy of certain tissues dominated by trophic nerves, which must thus first undergo structural development, and then indirectly, by affecting circulation, cause the larynx, pelvis, and probably the vascular muscles, walls, etc., to grow. Motility does not ultimately reside in the non-striated muscles any more than it was thought to reside in the voluntary muscles in the days when the doctrine of independent muscular irritability prevailed. Congestion thus not only precedes, but actually causes the flow. Growth and nutrition are thus not purely vegetative, but are indirectly influenced by nerves. This view, it is claimed, affords a principle large enough to explain erection, vicarious menstruation, the flushing in hemorrhage of capillary birthmarks, excessive swelling, varicose veins, nosebleed, spitting blood, enlargement of the thyroid gland

and spleen, puffiness, and dark coloration under the eye, and in rare cases where this interesting phenomenon is seen, stigmatization and cutaneous extravasation.

Dr. Schmey¹ pleads for a higher standpoint concerning menstruation, and assumes monthly plethora in both sexes. In men wounds often bleed periodically. Hemorrhages from the lungs are often monthly, as are hemorrhoidal and other sores. Senator demonstrated menstrual hyperemia of the liver. Both menstruation and ovulation are signs of a periodic fulness of blood in both sexes, at the height of which in woman the Graafian follicle is likely to be emptied and menstruation to occur. There is a cyclic change in the total amount of blood, and menstruation is a chance symptom due to the sensitiveness of the mucous membrane of the uterus. The lunar tide theory he thought suggestive.

On the basis of careful clinical studies upon the metabolism of menstruation, F. Schröder² found that in both urine and feces less nitrogen was excreted from the system during these periods than during the rest of the month, while nutrition remained the same. This means, of course, less decomposition of albumin and the formation of less urea. The monthly hemorrhage is thus attended by the accumulation of nitrogen in the system, and not, as previous very tentative experiments on animals had indicated, by the increased decomposition of albumin. In these periodic and complementary groups of processes the blood loses albumin, but the cells of the body demand less of it, all processes thus adapting themselves to the needs of the sexual life. It is surprising to see how many of the studies of the menstrual curve of urea, nitrogen, and temperature failed to take account of either food or feces, and are therefore of almost no value. Whether all the monthly variables in the life of woman can be connected with the catamenia is also rarely considered.

Marro³ thinks that during the menstrual epoch the girl exhales less carbonic acid; eliminates less urea and sulphuric acid. Calcic phosphate is eliminated in less quantities.

Silva⁴ made very careful observations, although only on a few cases, from which he concludes that the alkaline reaction of the blood in normal girls is less during menstruation; that the influence of elec-

¹ Zur Theorie der Menst. u. z. Behandlung einiger Mens. Störungen. Therapeut. Monatshefte, February, 1897, p. 93.

² Stoffwechsel während der Menst. Zeitsch. klin. Med., 1894, pp. 72-90; see also *Annali di Freniatria*. Turin, 1895.

³ *Annali di Freniatria*. Turin, 1898.

⁴ Contribution à l'Étude de la Physio-pathologie de la Menst. Arch. Ital de Biol., 1896, p. 435.

tric stimulation of the vaso-motor system is slight during the flux, but exquisite during the rest of the month. The same he finds true for the influence of heat and cold. Reaction time was slower and feebler. Respiration was more irregular and less affected by external stimulation. During the flow a strong stimulus less readily changed the costal to the abdominal type of respiration. Silva holds that the vaso-motor state which is the chief defense against bacteria has a real effect upon the organism's power of resistance; that the chemotactic action of the leucocytes probably does not affect the state of the vessels, and that in low nutrition the organism is easily impregnated by poison. Menstruation he regards as somewhat like pyrexia, and calls it an embryonal puerperal process. The bactericide power of serum diminishes with alkalinity, which increases the consumption of albumin; and *vice versa*, immunized animals have more alkalinity. This comports with Schröder's view that during menstruation the urine and feces excrete about one half less azote, its budget measuring the loss of albumin.

Normally the pulse rate increases and the vascular tension rises as the period approaches, the minimal point being a few days after the cessation of the flow and the maximum just before. Temperature may increase before the flow as much as half a degree F. The amount of urine is increased, while the urea increases just before and after, but perhaps falls off a trifle during the flux. The thyroid and parotic glands and breasts are swollen, and the Fallopian tubes congested. Finklestein showed a concentric narrowing of the field of vision beginning one to three days before, and culminating on the third or fourth day of menstruation, and vanishing three or four days later. His perimetric tests showed this narrowing of the field for red, blue, green, and yellow, as well as for white, while distinctness of vision in the central field was also slightly impaired. Traces of pigmentation, so marked at this period in the anal regions in some monkeys, where it is very brilliant, are seen under the eyes and around the nipples and sometimes on the renal parts. An odor quite distinct from that peculiar to the organs, and aromatic, is often noticed, and the voice may grow dull and flat. Women are more easily hypnotized, more prone to jealousy, ill-temper, and confessionism, can make less accurate and energetic movements, and mental activities are less brilliant, while these powers are at their best at the time of strongest genitive impulses and greatest conceptive power.

The total period of twenty-eight days may, according to Minot, be approximately divided as follows: tumefaction of the mucosa and its attendant phenomena, five days; menstrual flux, four days; restoration of the mucosa, seven days; resting period, twelve days. In a sense, as Ellis¹ says, a woman during her reproductive life is always engaged in menstruating. Everything she does or says must be judged by its exact position in this cycle which permeates her whole physical and psychical organism; and especially in unbalanced and neurotic persons, even guilt for crime is lessened, so that in criminal trials this should always be considered. This is in distinct opposition to views like those of Miss F. P. Cobbe and Mrs. Fawcett, the latter of whom declares, in contradiction to Mr. Harrison's statement, that nearly "all women are subject to functional interruptions absolutely incompatible with the highest forms of continuous pressure," that "the ordinary healthy woman is as fit for work every day of her life as the ordinary healthy man." Miss E. B. Gamble asserts that these eternal wounds of love and their cicatrization, which may even account for woman's smaller size as compared with man, which fill the month with a drama which has a new motive each day, and often makes her an invalid one-fifth of the time, are normally pathological, and due in some way, she does not attempt to explain, to long ages of man's brutality.

Although every recurrent period has the closest *rapport* with the neuro-psychic functions, the few first and last menstruations have a far greater influence upon the brain and soul than do those when the sexual rhythm is best established. The psychoses caused by the former are often acute and stormy. The first periods are often very irregular in time, sometimes occurring once in three to five months, one in two years, or even more.² This has a very disturbing effect upon the organism. Esquirol thought one-sixth of all psychic diseases in women were influenced if not caused by menstruation. A similar view also led Morel to ascribe great

¹ On these points see Ellis: *Man and Woman*, p. 251 *et seq.*, also p. 247.

² P. I. Kovalevski: *Des Menstruations-Zustand und der Mens. Psychosen*. Med. Wochens., St. Petersburg, 1894, p. 216 *et seq.*

etiological importance in insanity to the way in which first menstruation was established. Headache, tearfulness, irritability, relaxation, and indisposition often appear two or three days before the illness is due; and often these symptoms are repeated every twenty-eight to thirty-two days, three or four days before the flux appears; or again after the latter has once appeared, six months may elapse before another occurs, while the above nervous symptoms occur monthly.

The normal woman in her prime, no matter how healthy, is more sensitive, more prone to depression, excitable, moody, feels more fatigued, distracted, suffers pain more or less intense in different parts of the body, especially in the head, is liable to discontent, quarrelsomeness, unstable in appetite and sleep, disappointed, feels oppressed, and can do less work with mind and body. She is liable to nausea, palpitation, paranoëa and hyperæsthesia, a feeling of heaviness of body, sick headache, partial and temporary paresis, prosopalgia, fickleness, changes from elation to depression, local chills and flushes, etc. These symptoms gradually diminish and finally the "rules" cease. Then "the woman is born anew. She is vigorous, energetic, joyful, well. Her soul is clean and ready for ceaseless work." The pains were those of childbirth on a small scale. We might say that in the one case the race is renewed through pain; in the other, the individual. She is now at the very top of her condition, most brilliant, beautiful, attractive to men, and most attracted to them. Before, she needed the greatest tenderness, delicacy, and sympathy, but gradually, as the month advances she becomes more independent and often a little less dominated by her affections. These processional changes in a strong and healthy nature have something of the magnificence and awfulness of Nature's primitive revelation.

During just the time when savages isolate woman and call her unclean, she is really in her fullest flower and glory, and she must begin by reenforcing her self-respect at this period. She must have freedom to control the entire environment, and thus, perhaps, to some extent, the time of her month. With the birth of the function at adolescence comes one of the most wondrous of all instincts, namely, just how to best care for herself. This has been enfeebled and now

needs more or less help. Man can never understand this, and to him she may always seem somewhat more unique and strange than. The nerves, feelings, and the muscles need a regimen varying in individual women more, perhaps, than the whole range of male variability. In this women differ from each other more than they differ from man. Into this field I can not enter; but happy she who, at twenty-five, has really achieved freedom, intelligence, and true self-knowledge. During the first few days she is introverted to strange sensations which ideally are not painful, but deliciously and sometimes almost ecstatically charming. The volume of her emotional life is greatest, as is its depth and range. Then, actually though unconsciously, if entirely healthful, she is more attractive to man; and as the wave of this great cosmic pulse which makes her live on a slope passes, her voice, her eye, complexion, circulation, and her very dreams are more brilliant. She feels her womanhood and glories in it like a goddess. Her toilet is never so detailed, even where it is most hidden, to any other eye than her own. The flow itself has been a pleasure and the end of it is a slight shock. The instinct to conceal is a part of female coyness, which is directed only toward others, and she is most of all reserved toward any chosen one. In the earliest stirrings of the adolescent ferment, she has first dreamed of some ideal of manhood and is altruistic, and only later comes the conception of selfhood. Solitude and the country develop ideals of others, and society and the city tend toward the self-center. So far from ever having wished herself a male, she exults in her womanhood as something superior, and feels it worthy of love, reverence, protection, care, and service. In early adolescence her impulse is to make herself absolutely perfect. When her cycle is complete, her whole life must be regulated to prepare for the next. She develops new sentiments, instincts, and insights, is a charm to herself and both a fascination and a study for others; and because these days are not all on a dull, prosaic level, her life is larger and explores all the possibilities of humanity, so that she is less in need of supplementing her own individual limitations by the study of the alien lessons of the schools. So much comes to her by intuition and experience that her way of wisdom is larger and

must always seem more esoteric and mystic to man. Thus she illustrates the type of wholeness, rather than halfness, which a German scholar has suggestively described.¹

Every day of the twenty-eight she is a different being, and the wide range of circumnutation which explores the pleasures and pains of life, its darkness and its light, its depressive and exalted states, its hopes and fears, its sense of absolute dependence and of independence, sometimes almost to the declaration of war of sex against sex, reveals her as a more generic creature than man, less consistent than he if we compare days or hours, more so if we compare months as the units of her life. Is all this health or disease, normal or abnormal, or half-way between, is a question often asked, but which can not be answered till we know whether the human race realizes its ideal. This phenomenon has, perhaps, had very much to do in the development of the persistent conception that man is suffering from the effects of great calamity or error in the remote and forgotten past, that has perverted and left its mark upon his nature.

Very different are the phenomena in girls handicapped by morbid nervous periodicity. All the preliminary symptoms are exaggerated. On or near the culminating day of first menstruation, a slight shock, joy, or pain, may cause an hysterical outbreak, and if the normal menstrual endeavors are thwarted, abnormal molimina are intensified. Each stage of the month has its onset of feelings, thoughts, perhaps acts, psychic scenery and color generally, and sometimes the doubts, disturbances, and comparisons of one stage from the standpoint of another, cloud not only the future but may tend to nervous and even mental weakness. There is a man- and school-bred kind of logical consistency to impose which upon her is an outrage to her nature. More often in such cases the impulses of each stage may break away from control by the others, and impulsiveness, epileptic symptoms, senseless terrors, præcordial anxiety, pyromania, the assumption of an alien rôle, grave illness, one-half of which is real and the other half sometimes consciously feigned, and some-

¹ Die Ganzen und die Halben: Zwei Menschheitstypen. Deuts. Rundschau, August, 1900, pp. 213-242.

times honestly fancied, may occur. Hysteria, more often in its mild form of uncontrollable weeping, laughing, or globus hystericus, often makes its first appearance at the time of first menstruation. Slight epilepsy in the form of brief fainting fits is liable. The girl falls, perhaps with a cry, has cramps, staring eyes, rapid pulse for a few minutes and recovers, and then is as usual till the next period. First menstruations after childbirth and those at the beginning of sexual life are often attended by similar psychic symptoms. Occasionally it may cause improvement of specific troubles, e. g., of chorea, and when it first appears as something unknown and unexpected, the dangers to psychic equilibrium are greater, as also when there is a tendency to specific diseases, as of the lungs, heart, etc.

The effects of menstruation upon previously existing morbid mentation and of the cessation of periods upon the onset of disease and its return with convalescence, do not indicate, as is usually thought, a causal relation between the two, but rather both are perhaps concurrent and independent effects of the same cause, like exhaustion and rest. Sometimes, indeed, the beginning and end of this period have no effect on the progress of psychic disease. Selager, Schröder, Krafft-Ebing, and Algeri think it intensifies; and Marci and Kovalevski hold that it may often even mitigate the intensity of insane states. Abnormal brain conditions, then, must be regarded as concurrent symptoms of anomalous menstruation, and not as the cause of it. Periodicity with similarity of symptoms on successive months, brief duration and recovery, circular insanity with attending depression or exaltation, and obscenity in word or act, often indicate that the perversity is of menstrual origin. Sometimes, on the other hand, mental disturbance seems the direct and immediate effect of arrest or excess of flux. Some psychoses are vicarious for menstruation.

Very characteristic, although rare, are cases of vicarious puerperal bleeding at the nose, stomach, and elsewhere.¹ This is far less alarming and far less common than periodic hemorrhages near the meno-

¹ See a good typical case in a girl of fourteen, in the *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 1895, p. 157.

pause.¹ It may be in some respects compared with so-called pregnant menstruation, which is really pathological bleeding and perhaps about as infrequent.² This strange reciprocity is complicated by the curious clinical fact that mental disturbance should be much more frequent at the natural period of the climacteric than when the menstrual function is suddenly inhibited by accidental cause.³ Meyer urges that the causes of abnormalities and their results are "not to be sought alone, and indeed not predominantly in the sex organs, but in every organ of the body."

Menstrual irregularities which seem to be everywhere increasing are usually grouped under three heads: disorders of defect, or amenorrhea; of excess, or metrorrhagia; of perversion, or dysmenorrhea.

(a) Amenorrhea may be partial, involving action of the ovaries only. In such cases the monthly flux may be regular and normal in both quantity and quality, but ovulation does not occur. On the other hand, the ovaries may do their part, but the uterus remains inactive. In such cases the discharge does not occur. These main defects, as well as under-functioning of the Fallopian tubes and vagina, may of course occur in all degrees, from complete absence up to normal activity, and even be well-proportioned in amount and properly connected in time. Non-ovulation is very hard to diagnose, so that suppression of the flow is the chief fact. The latter may be temporary or prolonged; so complete that almost none of the characteristic sensations or symptoms are felt, or the flow may be only a slightly paler color, at a little longer interval or with reduction in quantity. In such cases supplementary hemorrhages often occur. Puech, whose statistics are still the best, found these complementary escapes of blood to occur in the order of frequency as follows: most often it is vomited from the stomach, next most frequently it escapes from the breasts, then come hemorrhages from the lungs, throat, mouth, nosebleed, discharges from the lower limbs, trunk, back, walls of the thorax; intestinal piles, swollen gums or eyelids, lacrymal glands, urine, hands, hair, ears, umbilicus, salivary glands, cheeks, etc., may bleed. Indeed, spontaneous supplemental hemorrhages may occur almost anywhere or produce congestion in any organ.

The causes of suppression, besides the chief uteropathies and pregnancy, are many, some well-established and others obscure. Of all these processes the ovaries are, biologically considered, the center and soul, so that any trouble here causes hesitation or crepuscular menstruation, and may slowly and entirely check it, as is seen in cases where the ovaries have been removed. Among the non-genital causes of partial or total suppression, chlorosis and anemia are very common. Consumption has a gradually suppressive effect; so does obesity, and several urinal and sexual abnormalities. Strong or sudden emotion

¹ Cincinnati Lancet-Clin., September 26, 1896.

² Levy. Archiv f. Gyn., Bd. 15, pp. 361-383.

³ Barus. Scalpel, July, 1896.

can prevent or almost momentarily arrest the flux, and psychic states have an immediate and profound influence in both increasing and diminishing it. The face itself, which grows pale or flushed with every change of sentiment, and reflects each effect of pleasure or pain, says Auvard in substance, responds no more delicately to every change of moral and intellectual states than do organs involved in menstruation. Fear, whether sudden or chronic, great dread or desire of pregnancy in young married women, certain hysterical manifestations, study or worry about lessons, bad air, constrained positions, improper or fluctuating temperatures either local or general, change of diet, of regimen, environment, the honeymoon, medication, many unknown and idiopathic causes, may lead to the same results. The treatment of so complex a disorder, it need scarcely be said, should be mainly directed to the removal of its cause, and can be completely restorative only when taken before bad menstrual habits have been too long confirmed or too far advanced.

(b) Metrorrhagia, or excessive menstruation, may appear in abnormal hemorrhages from almost any part of the genital organs. If the female organs in all their varied functions, including parturition, are more prone to hemorrhages than those of the male, the former bear the loss of blood far better and seem to have greater spontaneous styptic or stanching power, and woman's more anabolic activities make all loss good sooner and with greater ease than does the male organism. Excess may appear in quantity, duration, and frequency, and these forms often have an intimate reciprocity. At the pubertal instauration of the periods, as well as at the menopause, various forms of excess are liable. Excluding local mechanical causes and also those due to changes in the composition of the blood, certain cardiac affections, neuralgia and many psychic states and processes, cause uterine congestion, and may aggravate any or all of the factors of menstruation. Abdominal compression is prominent among the disturbances that cause aggravation of these disorders. All such forms of excessive activity of course involve loss of vital energy and keep the unfortunate subject on a low plane of vigor and emotional tone, check the later stages of mental and bodily growth, and impair the power of normal procreation, and often before the danger is fully realized condemn girls to a life of semi-invalidism that might have been avoided by a little more care and wisdom at the critical time when these functions were being first established and regulated.

(c) Dysmenorrhea, the third form of abnormality, is often marked by colic, which is to the smooth or involuntary what cramp is to the striated or voluntary muscles. The normal contraction of the uterine muscles is not perceived, but their painful action is analogous to the discomfort of indigestion, colic of the kidneys, or palpitation of the heart. Many varieties and symptom-groups have been proposed, but most features are common to all forms. The pain is intermittent, like the contractions which cause it. It is ill-defined as lumbar, abdominal, hypogastric, crural, etc. It is worst just at the time of the discharge

or just before, and often hinders sleep. The flux may be serous or clotted, may contain villousities, the detritus of decaying tissue, or it may be scanty and thin. The importance of these pseudo-menstruations, says Auvard, is secondary, and they may be more frequent than is suspected in less observed normal cases. Sometimes the pain at the crisis is so great that the next recurrence is dreaded almost like parturition, and its discomforts anticipated by those endowed with vivid imagination. Often such accompaniments as bad breath, flushes and pallor, and faintness are watched for with apprehensions, which may themselves become a cause of depression or debility. The source of this, as of all the other genetopathies, may be congenital or even hereditary, but very often its origin is in the nervous system. The tubes, ovaries, or vagina, as well as the uterus, may contribute to dysmenorrhea.

Many of the disturbances, which are hardly less complex or manifold than the causes of sterility, have been themes for clinical, surgical, and physiological study, and together make up a rich body of data which constitutes the science of the gynecologists and fills their journals. But some plain and simple statement of the significance and dangers of these periods should be an essential part of the educational equipment of every girl on or before reaching this age.

Dr. C. Clark¹ held that there were no forms of insanity expressive of particular types of menstrual irregularity. Irritability, depression, and stupor, the three types of psychic reflex from this can not be ascribed to special forms of it. Icard² has constructed a table of great value, although based upon only three hundred and forty-nine cases, indicating the relative frequency of various forms of psychic perversion obviously menstrual in character. Most common is a group of disorders of middle life, which he designates somewhat collectively as acute mania and impulsive and nameless delirium. Next most common come religious delusions, quite frequent near the menopause. Then follow in order of frequency, suicidal impulses, most of which are in middle life, genesic excitation, melancholia, homicidal impulses, illusion and hallucination, pyromania most frequent at puberty, kleptomania, dipsomania, spells of jealousy, lying, and calumny. Icard concludes that the menstrual function in these cases, where predisposition exists, creates a psychological state, varying

¹ Jour. of Mental Science, 1888, p. 386.

² *La Femme pendant la Période Menstruelle*, par D. G. Icard, Paris, 1890, p. 283.

all the way from simple moral malaise or disquietude to positive alienation, with complete loss of reason, morality, and responsibility. In such cases, those who know most will pardon most. Wherever crime occurs in such states, he would persistently raise the question of legal accountability. The sympathies between the brain and reproductive organs are far more intimate than has hitherto been suspected. Even hysteria, epilepsy, chorea, chlorosis, and exophthalmic goitre are classified among the neuroses of menstruation. Abnormality of this function is a predisposing cause to any of the obvious disturbances that heredity or the nature of any other troubles of body or mind may determine. It is impossible to ascertain whether psychic disturbances have a more immediate and profound effect on menstrual disorders or *vice versa*, but the relation of body and mind is nowhere more intimate than here, and a psychology that does not take careful account of this is defective.

In an important article,¹ a large number of cases of crime in the menstrual state are quoted from Krafft-Ebing, Tuke, Pellmann, Westphal, Mabilie, Girand, and others. As typical as any are the following:

Z., a peasant woman, aged twenty-two, set fire to her own hut. Up to the age of ten she was normal, but afterward led a hard life; menstruation began at sixteen and was attended by pain in the head and collapse. She married at twenty, but was childless. During the summer preceding her crime the courses ceased, but in their place came præcordial anxiety and irritation, headache, restlessness, loss of sleep, and nameless dread. Her husband's relatives beat her, and she was thought stubborn during her periods. For a supposed neglect due to her confused state she was beaten on the head, and broke out into a fit of anger that made her violent but unconscious. When the family had retired and she had come to herself, she imagined assaults and other terrible things, and finally fired the roof and felt great satisfaction. On hearing the alarm she aroused her husband and helped to extinguish the flames. On the same night menstruation appeared and she felt reborn to a new life. All her troubles ceased and she confessed everything openly.

Another case was a twenty-year-old daughter of a professor, well-bred and trained but of nervous heredity, and who had convulsions in childhood but no disease. With the first menstruation at fourteen came great access of fear, which she could not account for or define the

¹ The Menstrual State and Psychoses, by P. I. Kovalevski. Russian Archiv Psychiatric. Kharkov, 1894, pp. 73-131.

object of. She was restless, ran from place to place, sobbed, prayed, but when she knelt blasphemous words forced themselves into her mind in connection with the Blessed Virgin, Jesus and his saints, until she beat her head against the wall and tried to spring from the window and choke herself. She understood well that it was all disease, but it drove her to resolve on suicide. This state lasted about three or four days and ceased with the flow, when she became again cheerful, only to renew all these symptoms with great exactness in twenty-eight days, the first being the most painful. Thus in a year and a half there were fifteen such attacks, till at last under treatment the psychical troubles ceased, slight symptoms of which were felt two years later on bereavement. These attacks were severest in September, October, November, and March, and during the summer were mitigated into the form of sleeplessness, uneasiness, and desolate and depressive states of mind. This condition in the many cases of which this is typical usually continues up to the climacteric.

H. Ellis¹ says, "whenever a woman commits a deed of criminal violence it is extremely probable that she is at her monthly periods." Clouston says more specifically, "the melancholiacs are more depressed, the maniacal more restless, the delusional more under the influence of their delusions in their conduct, those subject to hallucinations have them more intensely, the impulsive cases are more uncontrollable, the cases of stupor more stupid, and the demented tend to be excited," at these periods. The matter is by no means so simple, however. Näcke² concludes from a careful study of ninety-nine cases of chronic psychoses, that in regularity and all other respects these periods do not materially differ from those of normal people, and that this influence on the course of such disturbances is relatively slight and inconstant. In sixty-five cases, no influence whatever could be detected. Even abnormalities in these functions had no greater influence than on the sane.

Kiernan³ attempts to elaborate and further illustrate Moll's conception of mixoscopic adolescent states. When the factors that make up the ego are disjointed, primitive instincts often arise and new direc-

¹ Man and Woman, p. 254.

² Die Menst. u. ihre Einfluss bei chron. Psychosen. Arch. f. Psychiatrie, 1896, vol. xxviii, No. 1, p. 169.

³ See articles in the Alienist and Neurologist, beginning May, 1903, entitled Mixoscopic Adolescent Survivals in Art, Literature, and Pseudo-Ethics.

tions are taken. Religious ecstasy may become associated with salacity. Algophily may become love of seeing pain in others or of suffering it one's self. New relations between the cerebral and reproductive system are common. Gross ideas of sex in people of blameless lives; the intensification of lust which may grow with jealousy; hypersensitiveness, as, for instance, "the nervous bladder"; philistine conventions beside erotic imaginations; prurience in prudery; the venting of sexual unrest in very eccentric ways, as in the case of Viola Larsen, who leaped into notoriety in the West by stealing, which she described as wildly intoxicating, delicious, beautiful, wonderful, a girl who early burned for fame and took delight in many kinds of strange antics—these symptoms illustrate mixoscopia. The rapture of being plunged into the waves of that great ocean of feeling which underlies our daily life in order to intensify consciousness and feel energy; the indulgence of pungent sexual argot; in "furtively sniggering over indecency"; the depression of the habitual motives of modesty into the realms of the unconscious; the "auto-erotism of the Narcissus type" which sometimes appears as a result of excessive use of the mirror, are further outcrops.

Gall thought there were periodic changes in men at puberty analogous to the twenty-eight-day periods in women. This he held was noticed chiefly in approaching senescence, especially in the feeble. Their complexions grow dull, the perspiration changes, digestion is poorer, and there may be periodic sadness, discomfort, and inability to work.

Sanctionius, Keill, and Laycock long ago held this view.¹ Clark thinks temperature, and Hammond says nosebleed, headache, excess of uric acid, and Clouston that the *nisus generativus*, show monthly rhythm; Ellis² rather inclines to accept a three-and-a-half day period as the unit, with weekly and fortnightly cycles, seen perhaps also in pulse, rate of respiration and weight, although even his very interesting case of Perry-Coste hardly favors a strictly lunar period. We should expect that such a fundamental rhythm, if it existed, would be overlaid by many social and auto-suggestions. This rhythm may precede and survive sexual life, and menstruation itself may be a special and secondary outcrop of a more basal rhythm that extends from the cradle to the grave in both sexes.

The spells of discomfort, distraction, irascibility, and depression in males thought to be of this character are probably much more common than is generally supposed. Young and

¹ See Gould and Pyle: *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, p. 28.

² *Psychology of Sex*, p. 73 *et seq.*, and Appendix B, p. 251.

robust men and adolescents are often subject to recurrent periods of wakefulness, which often coincide with the full moon, and may be due to its light. Indeed, Mantegazza holds that the menstrual periods were established because moonlight nights were favorable to courtship, and later, when the rhythm was well established, they became independent of lunar periods. The Sabbath had a great influence in fixing the twenty-eight-day period. Koster (*Periodische Irresein*) thinks that nearly all periods in periodic disease are compounded of various multiples of seven days, and that the anomalistic period of physiological month of twenty-eight days makes a veritable tide in the health of man, so independent of sea tides that Darwin's suggestion of these as causative of the menstrual rhythm is unnecessary. The moon is 47-55 thousand miles nearer the earth in perigee than in apogee, and exerts nearly one-sixth greater magnetic and gravitational effect upon the earth. Kern, in his treatment of periodic psychoses, thinks most of those with prominent psychic symptoms develop at adolescence. Sometimes melancholy and mania succeed each other with lucid intervals, in great regularity. Where there is much variation averages sometimes bring it out, and where other, e. g., seasonal periods are more prominent, this rhythm is nevertheless present. Bartel, who ascribed one-third of the cases of female insanity to this cause, classifies periodic diseases into those which do and those which do not coincide with the menstrual unit of time.

Nelson,¹ who was a good dreamer, and whose methods and results are so far the best, habituated himself to recording immediately, without rising from bed, all his dreams and computing them by a method designed to show the amount of dream energy each night for thirty months, and found a distinct mensal period. His sexual activity during sleep, measured by involuntary emissions or "ekboles," showed a still more marked monthly rhythm. His major climax also was near the summer solstice, near which Döring's curves show the maximal number of conceptions.

It is singular that a process eternally and regularly repeated in the life of woman has never been regarded as quite normal

¹ A Study of Dreams. *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, vol. i, p. 367.

or physiological. It is somewhat less unaccountable that it should have been everywhere considered as a badge of inferiority or a basis of exclusion or disgust. In accepting this view woman has exposed herself to the constant temptation to a dissimulation that too often becomes constitutional, by trying in every way to conceal it, even though she aggravate its dangers by efforts she should not then put forth. This lack of candor and naturalness must affect character in the direction of frankness and honesty. On the other hand, this aversion has been, as we saw, favorable so far as it tended to secure seclusion and rest, so that in this respect superstition did the work of science. This strange chronometry, in mysterious *rapport* with moon, tides, reproduction, race, climate, and all the environment in its every item, has contributed not a little among many savages to make woman an object of superstitious awe; and even if it has had nothing to do with keeping her stature inferior to man's, has made her more many-sided, so that she may have thus been better able to reduce his polygamous instincts by becoming herself in the course of the month several different kinds of person and appealing by turns to his pity, his passion, and ruling him now by sympathy, now by service, now by admiration, while her repertory of changes gives her an added charm and ever-stimulating interest.

Ever since Hippocrates the period of first menstruation has been thought to be very critical for the development of the nervous system. The entire genital organism is congested; the volume of the uterus and ovaries increases; the Fallopian tubes grow turgescient; the breasts are enlarged and tender; the thyroid gland swells; the nerves are tense and irritable; from 250 to 500 grams of venous and often clotted blood are lost normally, and this of itself in girls not properly instructed may cause great alarm, aggravated, as it often is, by idiopathic horror of blood, which indeed it may cause, and which may still more prompt unhygienic and even dangerous modes of concealment, removal, stanching, etc. It may thus lay deep in the nervous system, the foundation of psychic perturbations at every period. Few more pitiable objects exist in nature than a girl, especially if nervous or overworked, who must encounter this experience for the first time, uninstructed or alone. The quality of motherhood has nowhere a more crucial test than in

meeting the needs of this epoch. The individual variations are so very wide that every girl should be a special case by herself, and all reasoning from one person to another is apt to be fallacious. All of the physical and psychic phenomena are peculiarly prone to abnormal defect or perversion, and for a considerable time everything that in the least degree jeopardises the harmony and balance of the many factors involved in the settled establishment of regularity and normality should give way. Now begins a great and ineradicable difference between the physical and psychic life of woman and that of man.

Gynecology is by general consent the largest, with the possible exception of neurology, of all the specialties of medicine. Few departments of the profession are more important, and it can boast some of the greatest and noblest of practitioners. But the limitations in this field are peculiar. They are seen in the complacency in partial views that ascribe everything to some one simple theory which is utterly inadequate to the subtleties of nature—nerve cycle, endometric degeneration, ovulation as primal and all-conditioning in menstruation, or make pelvic anomalies, or metritis, or engorgement of the base, the keystone of the arch. The diversity of theories is probably not so wide as the range of individual variations, and while the latter graduate into each other by imperceptible gradations, the former remain rigid and unmediated, and their representatives sometimes resemble hostile camps. So in treatment, what Dr. Jacobi¹ said eighteen years ago, is still too true. Some prefer the knife, others the cautery, others the curette and irrigation with lotions or tamponing, others supports, internal and external, pessaries, etc. In the present confusion, the chief points of safety should be to avoid heroic or premature treatment until we know more what constitutes excess or chronicity; what is the pathological significance of versions, catarrh, inflammations; until discussions concerning the nature of the disease are at least as discriminating and animated as those concerning treatment. There is a classic treatment of certain diseases like pneumonia, typhoid, and nephritis, but the whole field of uterine troubles has been, and still is, one of great distraction and uncertainty.

¹ Studies in Endometritis. *Am. Jour. of Obstetrics*, 1885, vol. xviii. Seven valuable articles.

There are now, happily, signs of a reaction against the recent excessively surgical tendency, which has been too dominant, toward a large view of the whole life of woman. Specialists are beginning to realize that they must broaden their view from the pathology of her organs, till lately so often doomed, if she once consulted them, to the entire problem of regimen, and know at least as much about woman as about her pelvic diseases. Indeed, not a few experts are beginning to recognize that this larger field is relatively unknown to them, and that they must begin the study of the new or higher gynecology with something like a Socratic confession of ignorance. As long as they hold any exclusive theory which consigns to either ovaries, uterus, tubes, or central nervous system, the exclusive dominance, or assume that either the psyche or soma is always primal or causal, little progress can be made. Each of the modern views is partially correct and must always be considered as a possible aspect of each case.

To understand a woman's body and soul is a larger problem than to understand a man's. It is true of her more than of him, that to know a part we must know the whole; first, because her nature is more generic and less specific, and, second, because reproduction, the deepest secret of animate nature, plays a larger rôle in her life. Illness constitutes a greater element of her existence and is in a sense more a part of her. Each woman is a more adequate representative of her sex than a man is of his, so that to know one well more involves knowing all; hence experts and specialists, apparatus and particular processes, while often helpful, are more liable to be an insult to the deeper laws of her being. Our medical science, our psychology, and our philosophy are still inadequate to answer the questions her nature propounds. If the male doctor could occasionally be a woman, as Plato thought he should be sickly to more sympathetically understand those with whom he deals, this would avail much, but might reveal more new problems than answers to old ones, for, despite the great and real recent advances, it is not unlikely that modern woman, with her progressive complexity and sensitiveness, is evolving new symptoms and disorders yet faster. Perhaps it is this that has kept gynecologists so bound down to pressing needs as they arise that they have had little time to generalize on the facts within

their ken, and little strength to rebase their practises upon larger views of woman's nature. Perhaps our medical schools, now happily becoming endowed, have not hitherto been able to do their duty in the lines of research that are so inviting here. American woman is herself unique enough to furnish many special problems that almost cry out for investigation. Her status is changing more rapidly here than elsewhere, and the future of our race depends on whether for good or for ill, but this we can not clearly see till medicine broadens, here at least where need is greatest, to include anthropology, and all study of woman's diseases is made on a broad background of biology and heredity.

No one who has once abandoned himself to the fascination and suggestiveness that all parts of this field are now acquiring can fail to hope that a new and higher synthesis is impending which will not coordinate menstruation with pregnancy, and adolescence with senescence, but will bring together the results of the changes in the quantity, pressure, and alkalinity of the blood, in pulse rate, in the rhythm of output of carbonic acid and urea, temperature, nerve tension in brain, medulla, cord, and pelvic plexus and ovaries; homologize the loss of the endometrium and its regeneration with the moulting and subsequent reproduction of new organs; correlate normal with morbid changes; and show the true relation of these processes to pubertal growth on the one hand and to sexual desire on the other, as well as to fecundity. It is also apparent that the key that is to unlock the secret of all these relations is to be found in the biogenetic field. That the challenge that this condition now issues to science will soon be taken up more successfully and its difficulties overcome, we must hope. It is certain that any marked advance here will mark an epoch in our knowledge of both man's body and soul, and, what is more vital, will help us to bring the future mothers of our race to a better discharge of their functions.

Meanwhile we must hold fast to the basal fact that this process must be absolutely normal and complete in all its details or the mental and physical well-being of woman is jeopardized, and that a healthful performance of this function is essential to a well-balanced mind. If every organ has an independent nervous mechanism, these must be combined with reciprocal

interaction from a rhythmically pulsating center as real as that which controls respiration or heart-beat. Ophthalmology has vastly widened its scope in recent years by entering the school and doing a great preventive work for the young. Gynecology should profit by this example. Woman's sphere has vastly widened of late, yet she is not equipped for the boundless field opening before her, but is handicapped by needless fashion and inveterate habits of antihygienic life. Vital as the distinction may be for diagnosis, it is often impossible to tell whether the mental symptoms are caused by defective menstruation or *vice versa*. The whole problem of the relation of the mind and body is here involved.

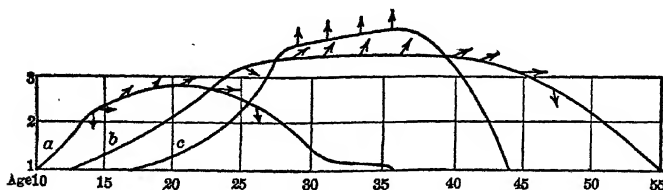
It is frequently assumed that among individuals of the same race and environment an early beginning goes with a late cessation of menstruation, and in individual cases this is demonstrated, as is the fact that a retardation of the development of this function goes with early senescence. In general, the former at least must be regarded as exceptional. Commonly, if it is accelerated prematurely it is followed by early involution, as women in hot climates are often old at thirty. In the main it is probable that those who mature late age late. It would certainly seem as if the interests of racial advancement required at least a progressively later ripening, if not a later decay, and that most effective propagation be kept near the acme of maturity. The duration of this best age for offspring may not increase or decrease concomitantly with that of menstruation, but may fall within its limits by a variable interval.¹

In fine, puberty for a girl is like floating down a broadening river into an open sea. Landmarks recede, the water deepens and changes in its nature, there are new and strange forms of life, the currents are more complex, and the phenomena of tides make new conditions and new dangers. The bark is frail, liable to be tossed by storms of feeling, at the mercy of wind and wave, and if without chart and compass and simple rules of navigation, aimless drifting in the darkness of ignorance, amidst both rocks and shoals, may make of the

¹ The curves on p. 508 will aid us in stating the many unsolved problems here. The lower line represents the age of first menstruation; line 2, the age capable of producing viable children; line 3, the age of most effective heredity. The three

weak or unadvised wrecks or castaways. The change itself is exciting, and half knowledge or popular and perhaps prurescent fallacies only augment instead of allaying the strain. Four or five days a month for some thirty years the girl's system will be depleted, and there will be lassitude with peculiar susceptibility to physical or mental shock, and complex problems of regimen that even with the best instruction must receive a large residuary personal solution. Shall she withdraw, and make or accept excuses which seem to her a kind of implicit confession which is so hard even to those nearest her? Does she show or

curves are schematic representations of the fertile age, of which *a* pictures early maturity and decay with deficient effectiveness; *b* represents later maturity and prolonged fertility; *c* a late short period of very effective productivity. The short lines just above each curve represent children 7, 9, and 4 in number, progressivity being their upward direction. Thus the first and last child of *a* are decadent; the second and sixth, which are horizontal, just maintain the status of the parent; the third and fifth add a little, and the fourth adds most, while the four children of *c* are all progressive. Frequency is greatest in *a* and least in *c*, which excels also in regularity of interval. While such a curve might be constructed for any fertile mother who had already reached the menopause, or, better yet, for a fertile grandmother, in point of fact we can not construct any part of such a general curve



from any other given part of it. We do not know whether those who begin to menstruate late attain full fertility sooner or later or within the same interval as those who begin early. Perhaps curve *b* should be very steep at first and reach line 2 almost as soon as does curve *a*, instead of crossing it at a greater interval than it rises from line 1. Perhaps curve *c* is not the one that ascends highest, and perhaps it, and not *b*, is most prolonged at its greatest altitude. Curve *a* may really fall later than does *c*. Statistics of viability of offspring suggest quite an interval between lines 1 and 2, and we have every reason to believe that the period of pre-nubility and adolescence should be prolonged above the latter, but above line 3 we have no clue save that of vague popular impression or abstract theory. Whether, and, if so, how long, the curve becomes horizontal on top, or whether those that reach the highest level do so latest and decline earliest, as is often commonly assumed among the educated classes, or whether nature decrees that, to do the very best that birth can do for offspring, preparation must be begun early rather than late, we are ignorant.

can she conceal her state at least from strangers, or will they suspect, or must she make an effort to be natural? Shall she accept corsets, long and heavy skirts, the rush, crush, and bustle of social obligations? Shall she seek the information or advice she feels the need of, and how and of whom? There is almost always some pain, reflex or direct, and this is a nervous handicap which may tend to feverish instability. After a few periods and a little knowledge she often learns to be more or less anxious about either regularity, duration, or quantity, or all, and practises little expedients, stumbling onward in the pathway of self-knowledge. In the dim depths of her soul she vaguely feels how paramount this function is, especially in its initial stage of incipency, at least for her good looks, spirits, and ease of daily duties, but at the same time she infers from observation of others, and perhaps from the very paucity of information given her, that the less concession made to this instinctive sense of its importance, or to her feelings or her sense of waning vigor, the better. The change in her own psychic state naturally suggests that the periods are all-conditioning, but the sentiment of her environment is to ignore them as unimportant if not shameful. She may have experienced a nervous shock at the first flow, or suffered, as experts tell us so many still do, from applying cold water as if to stanch a wound, or been the victim of unusual exposure or activity at the critical time; or, as our returns show, she not infrequently tides herself over by unwonted coffee, tea, or even vinegar or tablets of various kinds, that often acquire unsuspected vogue in school circles, where such expedients occasionally are almost comparable to the errors of incompetent obstetricians later, which Engelmann says furnish the gynecologist half his patients, or the fad of operation when, for a period just closing, experts were "blinded by the glitter of the surgeon's knife." Everywhere, whether in the profession or among adolescents, the greater a non- or half-understood subject like this is felt to be, the more rankly fads and extreme and special theories and practises arise and flourish for a season. This phenomenon of *fides quaerens intellectus* is nowhere so well illustrated as in every aspect of sex, and is itself a most tempting psychological theme.

But my point here is one I have nowhere seen stated, viz., that menstruation now forces a most challenging set of ques-

tions, conscious and unconscious, upon the girl's mind, that of themselves constitute a great strain and demand for some time a good share of all her power of mentation. Because her puberty is shorter and its manifestation more ostensive and the function now born more central for her life than for the boy, this psychic incubation is more important if she would emerge into full womanhood unscathed. Perhaps to this we must add another unnoticed factor, viz., fully assimilated knowledge that immediately becomes a part of life is strength, but that which is undigested and not transformed into carrying power, but is a burden to be carried in memory, is an added cause of tension and fatigue. It devitalizes, augments worry, and if there is no introspection may be permanently de-educational. Because girls accept with more patience than boys learning that is merely conventional, they are especially exposed at this period of conformity to harm by pedagogic fooleries that have only a factitious school value, and to be victimized by spurious mental interests just when real ones would steady them, in their time of greatest danger from emotional instability. Vital and normal intellectual work and zest has a power already manifestly hygienic, but with possibilities in this direction needing, and therefore certain of, great further development. That concessions are progressively, if unconsciously, made with the increasing feminization of American schools is seen, happily for the girls but unhappily for the boys, in both the matter, method, and quantity of work.

Savagery has great advantage even over modern educational life in that it everywhere recognizes the need of seclusion. The tepee, or booth, or grot, so commonly set apart for menstruant girls, often purposely built so low that they can not stand but are forced to sit or lie down, suggests so far sound ideas of health, although other requirements are often deleterious. In many ancient civilizations withdrawal was divinely ordained and enforced by penalties. False as was the idea of uncleanness or contamination, in practise it wrought good. While of all influences right muscular exercise can best smooth out this wave, even it must cease for a time at the onset of puberty when the organism first enacts the minimized pantomime of parturition, as children rehearse in play with toys and dolls the serious business of life. This system at least did not turn out

either the hectic or the faded fraud that once was proud of semi-invalidism as a delicacy that was thought to be interesting, and later cultivated the Grecian bend, which is its instinctive posture, and now is content with a nervous sprightliness and vivacity as if restlessness were brilliancy.¹

Instead of shame of this function girls should be taught the greatest reverence for it, and should help it to normality by regularly stepping aside at stated times for a few years till it is well established and normal. To higher beings that looked down upon human life as we do upon flowers, these would be the most interesting and beautiful hours of blossoming. With more self-knowledge woman will have most self-respect at this time. Savagery reveres this state and it gives to woman a mystic awe. That after the almost universal pubescent initial seclusion practised among primitive people it is so commonly ignored, is perhaps one cause of tribal arrest or decline. Civilization differentiates the sexes in nearly every respect. The time may come when we must even change the divisions of the year for woman, leaving to man his week and giving to her the same number of Sabbaths per year, but in groups of four successive days per month. But Sabbaths they should remain—days, superior to others, devoted to leisure, to higher overthoughts, religious sentiments and suggestive of a lost paradise, the idea of a more precise expression of her nature and needs at this time than the weekly cycle man accepted for his norm from his God and has imposed on woman. When woman asserts her true physiological rights she will begin here, and will glory in what, in an age of ignorance and sense, man made her think to be her shame. The pathos about the leaders of woman's so-called emancipation is that they, even more than those they would persuade, accept man's estimate of this state, disapprove, minimize, and perhaps would eliminate if they could the very best thing in their nature. In so doing it is the feminists, who

¹ See Engelmann: *The Health of the American Girl*, Trans. of So. Surgical and Gynecological Association, 1890. Hatfield: *Dynamics of School Puberty*, Jour. of Am. Med. Ass'n, November, 1899. L. Meyer: *Der Menstruations Process*, Stuttgart, 1890. R. H. Smith: *Preventive Gynecology*, Am. Jour. of Obstetrics, May, 1900. Schaeffer: *Einfluss der Psychosen auf den Menstruations Vorgang*, Allg. Zeitsch. f. Psychiatrie, 1893, p. 976 *et seq.* Axel-Key: *Die Pubertäts Entwicklung*, Verhandl. d. Internat. med. Cong., Berlin, 1890, p. 67.

are still apishly servile to man even in one of his greatest mistakes, which has done woman most wrong. She will not profane her own Sabbath of biological ordination, but will keep it holy as to the Lord, for he has hallowed it as a day of blessing from on high. Those interested in Sabbath psychology and pedagogy can find no better suggestions for its right keeping than those written in the language of woman's needs. This is one of the several reasons why she is more religious by nature than man, because at these seasons her frame of mind inclines her to a natural piety and sense of dependence and of being an organism in the hands of a higher power. Details for its better observance, attitudes and exercises of soul make a suggestive theme for noble women, who are emancipated from the man-aping fashion now just beginning to wane, and will no doubt sometime be wrought out. It will not be a Lord's day of Puritan severity or of ancient taboos, but of joy and pride, and those first rightly initiated into its observance will learn to look forward to its recurrence with pleasure, and later in life will look back to the months and years of their novitiate and all its glow of idealism and aspiration somewhat as Jehovah's people remembered the precious promises of old.

CHAPTER VIII

ADOLESCENCE IN LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY, AND HISTORY

- I. Plato's boys—Neoptolemus and Telemachus—Aristotle's description of youth.
- II. The disciples of Jesus—Youth of the saints—The age of chivalry.
- III. General characterization and results of the study of description of youth in biography and literature.
- IV. Men of Science.
- V. Literary women.
- VI. Difference between the accounts given of their adolescence by men and women—Literary men: English, American, German, and French.

ROMANCE, poetry, and biography furnish many admirable descriptions of the psychic states and changes characteristic of every stage of the ephebic transformation, and now, before passing to a more detailed account of its normal aspects, it may be well to pause and consider a few silhouettes of representative types, beginning with the Greeks, whose athletic ideals and regimen of it were described in Chapter III. These cases, like returns to *questionnaires*, are in part either data or illustrations for some of the conclusions of later chapters in which they are often cited.

I. The Platonic dialogues are among the best of all literary sources for the study of the pedagogy of adolescence. After many years of teaching them and reading Jowett in seminary classes, it is ever clearer to me that some of the best of them owe much of their charm to the noble love of adolescent boys. At most of the dialogues one or more of them were present, and Socrates found much of his inspiration in them. In the *Laws*, where only old men appear, in the *Timæus*, the *Cratylus*, the *Crito*, and perhaps the *Critias* alone, among the authentic dialogues and in the lesser *Hippias*, it appears that no youth were present, and most of these, especially the longer of them, by general consent are the most uninteresting, if not tedious, to modern taste. Of the twenty-seven dialogues, which Jowett accepts, with about one hundred and ten characters, twelve or fourteen are obviously adolescents, although not all of them stand out very clearly.

Charmides is perhaps the most glorious of all Plato's boys. He appears in the *Palæstra*, where the dialogue which bears his name is held, drawn to the conversation of the sages concerning temperance. His friend and lover, Chærephon, a crazy-brained, impetuous young man, had pronounced him the reigning beauty of the day, whom all his companions loved, and he was always followed by a train of admirers. "There was not one, not even the smallest, who looked in any other direction; all gazed upon him as upon some sacred statue." He was said to be yet fairer in form than in face. There was a flutter when he entered, and all made place to have him sit beside them. "All the world seemed enamored of him, and amazement and confusion reigned when he entered." His soul was found to be as beauteous as his body, so that he best illustrates the Greek ideal of a fair soul in a fair body. As Socrates delicately proceeds to strip and cure his soul by conversing with him on temperance, the chief Greek virtue, he appears an almost ideal illustration of this also.

Lysis seems, with his shyness, impulsiveness, and artless candor, his insatiable eagerness to hear more, perhaps the youngest of Plato's boys. He, too, is of noble birth, and is found in the *Palæstra* with his pugnacious friend, Menexenus, and his praiser and idolizer, Hippothales. Among his mates, all in festive array, having just offered sacrifice and playing at knuckle-bones, Lysis, with a chaplet on his head, was pre-eminent among all the rest for beauty of form and grace of action. Socrates, with characteristic sympathy, easily engages him in conversation. Your parents love you and want you to be happy, but do they gratify all your wishes? When he replies No, that even his father's hirelings can drive the horses which he can not, Socrates expresses surprise, but leads on to the truth that men are trusted in things they know. The dialogue on the nature of friendship is given added zest by the concealed presence of Lysis's unwelcome lover.

Cleinias in the *Euthydemus* is a youth exposed to the rough horse-play of the eristic sluggers, who teach wisdom and also fighting in heavy armor, until Socrates must repeatedly come to his rescue and give him encouragement. He is a lad of illustrious name, in whose future all Athens felt a deep interest. Socrates seeks to relieve him from his painful bewilderment

that he may form sound opinions and no longer need the Sophists or any one to teach him, and finally leads up to the conclusion that as wisdom is the only good he must become a lover of it or a philosopher. "That I will," concludes Cleinias.

These "figures upon whom our attention centers belong to the flower of Athenian youth, and bear that stamp of breeding which seems to have been a birthright of noble parentage, which goes far to justify the aristocratic predilections of Plato. Free from concern as to their own reputation, they have no thought of concealing the 'wonder,' which Socrates prizes as an 'affection peculiar to the philosophical mind.' All alike display a charming simplicity and genuineness, which are the more remarkable because of the admiration lavished upon them by young and old. It speaks well for healthfulness and symmetry of Hellenic influence that a universal adoration, partaking almost of a religious character, has imparted to them no trace of vanity or self-consciousness, the taint of which must have inevitably diminished their zeal in the pursuit of truth."

Meno is another golden youth, highly sophisticated, charged to overflowing with the finished definition philosophy of the nihilistic Gorgias, whose sophistic half-knowledge Socrates so well exposes, who is so examined as to show the fallacy of this tendency of thought, and is almost tenderly taught that virtue can be imparted by no such method. At first Meno has no idea of any general conception of virtue, but only of that of a man, or woman, of every age and state. Then he conceives it as delighting in things honorable with the power to get them. When this definition is upset, he complains that Socrates acts on his mind like a torpedo shock. To others he can talk well of virtue, but in his presence he is perplexed. Every soul has a germ of latent knowledge, and from one of Meno's slaves, also a boy, the Pythagorean theorem is elicited and the doctrine of the preexistence of the soul inferred therefrom. In this sense virtue is teachable, but alas! there are no teachers. The character of Meno has little to do with the Meno of history. He is a spoiled child of fortune, eager to learn from any one, and Socrates's cross-examination, which is half playful, shows forth the shortcomings of his teachers who had neglected dialectics.

Ion, the rhapsode, who had just won the first prize for his

impassioned recitations of Homer, is also a youth, and his discussion with Socrates on inspiration and sacred madness, in which his teacher reaches the well-known conclusion that poets are sacred persons who should be treated with respect, but are touched with madness and should not be tolerated in a well-ordered state, must also have acted as a shock upon this elocutionist's transparent childlike enthusiasm. His assumption that by being always in the good company of Homer, to whom his skill was restricted, brightening up when he is mentioned and growing sleepy when others are discussed, he participated more or less in the creative power of his author, and could even judge of war, medicine, and prophecy, as well as experts, falls prostrate. It would be interesting to know the sequel of this shock.

Polus is an impetuous youth, a runaway colt, bad-mannered, violent, angry at first, having never heard the other side, fascinated and astounded by the rhetoric of his master and ready to maintain his position against the world. As Socrates develops the view that rhetoric is flattery; is a "shadow of a part of politics"; the evil-doers are more miserable if they escape than if they suffer penalty, Polus laughs outright, but early in the dialogue he heeded Socrates's injunction to be less prolix, and almost seems to acquiesce in the end that it is better to suffer than to do injustice.

Philebus, confused as youth so often is concerning the relation of pleasure to goodness and wisdom, and his friend, Protagoras, the noble son of Callias, inspire one of the best expositions of this favorite Socratic topic. Philebus, who had been his teacher and perhaps his lover, had left him still a partizan of pleasure, but had not taught him that pleasure, like color, is both one and many. The problem of pleasure, always a burning one with youth, is implicated with that of the infinite and the finite, the one and the many; and its ethical nature and the relations to knowledge and to the good are taught in a way suggestive to modern pedagogical methods in college philosophy.

The most radiant and conscious boy beauty of all the more or less juvenile interlocutors of Socrates was Alcibiades, who first appears in the brief and doubtful dialogue bearing his name. Here he is very young and about to enter public life,

and would persuade the people, but of what and to what end? Socrates leads him to say that he would seek justice rather than wealth or power. Only the virtuous deserve freedom. "Are you free?" and he replies, "I feel that I am not, but I hope, Socrates, that by your aid I may become free, and from this day forward I will never leave you." We have another glimpse of this favorite in the *Protagoras*, where we are told his beard is just appearing. In the *Symposium* he seems in the early twenties, and intrudes intoxicated and with his followers into the assemblage, lawless, a lion's whelp, but already known as one of the ablest and most gifted of all Greeks. He tells of his vain effort to ensnare Socrates, the Silenus-faced master of dialectics, by his homosexual blandishments, and then proceeds to the most brilliant eulogy of his character. Here his own traits are well set off by those of the other fair youth, Agathon, whose encomium on love is an almost dithyrambic praise of the gods for his gifts.

In the *Republic*, Polimarchus, who appears in the early part of the dialogue, is a frank, impetuous youth, who would detain Socrates by force and compel him to tell him what he knows about women and children. Like his father, Cephalus, he is "limited in his point of view and represents the proverbial stage of morality, which has rules of life rather than principles." He has not felt the charm of the Sophists, and is so confused by Socrates that he hardly knows what he says. In the *Protagoras*, the most dramatic of the dialogues, Hippocrates, with youthful ardor, pounds upon Socrates's door before dawn to make the momentous announcement that Protagoras the Great is in town at the house of Callias. Socrates knew his "courageous madness," and could hardly restrain him from almost making an assault upon the great sophister to relieve him of some of his wisdom. At first the youth is fascinated by being told that he will be made an ever better and wiser man, but perpend as his hero is entangled in the meshes of Socrates, and as his unfitness to train the flower of Athenian youth and to receive their pay is exposed. In the *Statesman*, an unknown or fictitious "Young Socrates" is a somewhat wooden responder throughout. In the *Parmenides*, Socrates himself appears to be rather young and attacks the paradoxes of Zeno with great subtlety. *Phaedo*, in the dialogue of that name,

although he is a beloved disciple and says nothing, is evidently young as is the madman, Apollodorus, who is emotional and whose grief is violent. In the Phaedrus, Isocrates is still young and full of promise. They are in the country, and fittingly end the discussion of the relation of rhetoric to dialectics, with a prayer to Pan for inner beauty of soul. Euthryphro, the religionist and definer of piety as doing as he does or doing what is dear to the gods, is thought by some to be a youth.

Theætetus is an adolescent Socrates of unattractive exterior, and who might be described as that weird English poet, Francis Thompson, speaks of a plain but gifted lady, whose countenance one could not see for her soul. He is introduced to us as striving to accomplish the Hercules labor of passing from mathematics to metaphysics, and seeking, like some ingenuous academic students of our day, to make an Hegelian voyage of discovery to find out what knowledge really is. Socrates can hardly treat seriously the callow but earnest poetic passion of his ephebic ectype. With characteristic irony he is drawn out and lured on, each crude definition being welcomed with a gratitude sometimes effusive, till on second thought the inevitable little scruple arises which shows its inanity. When told that knowledge is sense perception, the master reflects that a tadpole, a pig, or a dog-faced baboon may then have true knowledge; and when at last true opinion rightly defined is proposed as the best description of it, doubts thicken as the thought-midwife perpend, till the pupil is told that there is no escape from the domain of the god of flux and Herakleitic motion, and that his mind will be the better for being rid of the embryo ideas of which it has just been delivered, and that they are of no value, but should be exposed like monstrous births. The end of the prolonged dialectics of the Theætetus, like that of the other dialogues of search, is negative and almost collapsing, and the moral is an at least tentative but most tonic confession of nescience. He appears again in the Sophist, but is no longer young.

Although Socrates abhors every form of afflatus, he is strangely drawn toward ingenuous boyhood, as if by its very *naïveté*. It is perhaps precisely because he would despoil them of their unconsciousness and elevate their mental impulses to the plane of reason. In a land and age of unnatural

lust, he passionately strove to seduce youth only to wisdom and to discourse solely of high themes, striving to do and suffer nothing base, knowing that to love boys is the key to their education. Their presence and the duty of adults to inspire and set noble examples turn the discourse to high thoughts and glorious deeds. While he felt it his mission to give no information but only to kindle latent genius and turn the soul toward truth, his amplest theme, and that perhaps wherein his thoughts ran deepest, was that in which youth has a strange zest—love. All who strive are lovers; and the only true love is of knowledge and virtue and the deathless beautiful-good, which is so impersonal and pure that wisdom-love is a kind of dying. And yet it was precisely the charge of corrupting youth which seems to have had great, if not chief, weight in his condemnation. In the *Apology*, he exhorts the Athenians to trouble his sons as he has troubled them, if they prefer riches to virtue, or think themselves something when they are nothing. He was commissioned by the oracle to find a wiser man than he, and therefore had to expose pretended wisdom, and was obliged to meet the "stock accusation" of free-thinking and atheism, when all others failed. But, as represented in Plato, he has always remained an ideal teacher of philosophy to the adolescent mind. It should also be added that the Platonic myths are pedagogic masterpieces, precisely suited to this stage of psychic development when sentiment is three-fourths of life, and symbolism and parable are perhaps chief among the methods of reason. Altogether Plato presents most of the chief types of ephebic perplexity and the elucidation of each, as if he considered it one of his chief missions to be a true intellectual midwife, presiding over the new birth of the soul. Those who best know Plato will most fully realize how far inferior our own age still is in understanding the real nature of youth and in the development of the right means of ministering to its needs. Greek superiority in this respect may have been largely due to the fact that the race and age represented a more youthful stage of development than does our own. Could Socrates and Plato but come again to the philosophical classes of our modern colleges and universities, would they find us modern teachers of wisdom anything more

than modern Sophists? and if not, as I often fear, what would their great insight into the mental and moral nature and needs of adolescent mind and life suggest as the same reform they wrought, put into the language of our modern life and needs?

Neoptolemus is, in the opinion of Professor Gildersleeve, next to Telemachus, the most interesting of the Greek characterizations of youth, "not only young, but young for his years."

Sophocles introduces this son of Achilles as the tool of Ulysses in beguiling Philoctetes to leave his lonely island of Lemnos, where he had passed nine weary years in pain from his gangrene wound, and bring with him the wondrous bows and arrows bequeathed him by Hector, for an oracle had revealed that Troy could never fall but by the bow of Hercules and with the aid of a son of Achilles. Neoptolemus was a mere boy in far-off Phthiotis when the hero was deserted, and so was guileless of this treachery. Ulysses lands with him; explores the double-mouthed cave, keeping himself in the background for fear of the poisoned arrows and sending Neoptolemus ahead, who finds the bed of leaves, the rags for dressing the wounded foot, and only at the last moment, when it is too late to withdraw, the man of many wiles explains to the youth his rôle. He must pretend to have been deprived of the arms of his father, Achilles, by Ulysses, upon whom he must heap reproach, and state that, stung by insult, he is on the way home and will give Philoctetes a safe passage to his own land. The youth at first revolts at this treachery, which even in word he loathed to hear, for his nature was not made for crooked guile, although for the great end of conquering Troy he would take the man by force. Failure is better than a foul success. Thus he is "gallant, impetuous, open, chivalrous, the true son of the ideal knight of Greek romance," who detested "as the gates of hell" one who dared think one thing and say another. At last, however, the plausible Ulysses wins against the better feelings of his comrade, as if their end would sanctify any means. When Philoctetes approached painfully, Neoptolemus acts the rôle ascribed him and tells his tale and reports the news of Troy. He begs to be taken home; Neoptolemus does the by-play of hesitation, and at last pretends reluctant assent. Other messengers from Ulysses arise and seek to hurry them, representing that Neoptolemus is pursued, and as they approach the ship Philoctetes has one of his paroxysms of agony, begs his friend to smite off his limb, and bids him hold his bow and arrows during the slumber that must follow such pain, and into which, like a death-trance, the sufferer soon sinks. Before he awakes, the better nature of Neoptolemus has conquered. The interest in the Greek cause and his personal renown, prophesied in the capture of Troy, are weighed in the

balance and found wanting, and he confesses his abominable rôle and how noisome and base he has been by deserting his own true self. At first he would not give back the weapons, however, and when he makes a motion to restore the bow Ulysses intervenes. At last Neoptolemus makes up his mind to "do the right, come what may." The glory of taking Troy will be bought at too high a price if self-respect is lost. He braves Ulysses with his sword; gives Philoctetes back his weapons; and only the intervention of Hercules in the air saves the life of Ulysses. This struggle between interest and duty constitutes the tragic interest in the drama, and in the sequel, in the glory of his father's armor, it is this pyrrhic or red-haired youth who leads the Greeks to the storm and sack of the city by night, while the Trojans slept or held council. The last glimpse of the young hero appears in the *Andromache* of Euripides, where the Argive prince is put out of the way for coveting Hermione.

Perhaps the fullest portrayal of adolescence in which Greek life and Greek ideals are symmetrically mingled is that of Telemachus, the only son of Ulysses, to whom a large part of the first four books of the *Odyssey* is devoted.

He is represented as a rather tame, home-staying, and affectionate son, who had to have strength put into his heart by a visit of Minerva, who roused him from his perhaps Hamlet-like musings by the hearth-stone of his mother, Penelope, as to whether his father would return and take vengeance on the insolent suitors. The young prince, stirred by this visit of divine wisdom, awoke to his responsibilities, took his place again among the revelers, a changed man, reminded his mother that the loom and distaff were woman's kingdom and that his father's place now belonged to him, and warned the suitors to leave. In the council of the rulers the next day his mien showed forth a new majesty in contrast with his former supineness. He appealed to the gods for vengeance, but when mocked wandered to the seashore, prayed his guardian goddess to show him forth the true son of his father, and was helped by her on his voyage to find him to the consternation of the suitors at his bold step, to the grief of his mother, now twice bereaved, and the dismay of his old nurse, Eurycleia.

Fénelon amplifies the story of his search for his father in his well-known tale, which has for some generations been a standard text-book in French, especially for young ladies, and which is a kind of *Wilhelm Meister* or typical adolescent experience for a prince in classical times. Perhaps no work even of antiquity describes with such detail and fidelity to nature the stirrings of youthful impulses and their masterly guidance by Mentor. Fénelon drew richly upon all the resources of Greek culture. His hero, by the aid of his guide, resists the wiles of Calypso, and even his passion for her nymph, Eucharis, is controlled. He becomes a slave in Ethiopia, but com-

pels the love and admiration of all about him, even of his cruel master. He is urgently offered the crown of Crete, establishes a new government at Salentum, seeks Ulysses through the dreary realms of Tartarus, falls in love with Antiope, whom he rescues from a wild boar, teaches good government to a reprobate prince, is always wisely counseled, and at last, just before meeting his father, is given final parting counsel by Mentor, who now bids him farewell, assuring him that his apprenticeship to life is complete and he must now guide his own actions. Homer completes the tale in the seventh book with his return from Sparta to Ithaca. When his father's rags fell off and royal robes took their place and he was at last convinced of his identity, the suitors planned vengeance, and while Ulysses plied his wondrous bow Telemachus by his side dealt death to them with his spear.

Aristotle has given the best ancient characterization of youth. He says:

The young are in character prone to desire and ready to carry any desire they may have formed into action. Of bodily desires it is the sexual to which they are most disposed to give way, and in regard to sexual desire they exercise no self-restraint. They are changeful, too, and fickle in their desires, which are as transitory as they are vehement; for their wishes are keen without being permanent, like a sick man's fits of hunger and thirst. They are passionate, irascible, and apt to be carried away by their impulses. They are the slaves, too, of their passion, as their ambition prevents their ever brooking a slight and renders them indignant at the mere idea of enduring an injury. And while they are fond of honor, they are fonder still of victory; for superiority is the object of youthful desire, and victory is a species of superiority. Again, they are fonder both of honor and of victory than of money, the reason why they care so little for money being that they have never yet had experience of want, as the saying of Pittacus about Amphiaraus puts it. They are charitable rather than the reverse, as they have never yet been witnesses of many villainies; and they are trustful, as they have not yet been often deceived. They are sanguine, too, for the young are heated by Nature as drunken men by wine, not to say that they have not yet experienced frequent failures. Their lives are lived principally in hope, as hope is of the future and memory of the past; and while the future of youth is long, its past is short; for on the first day of life it is impossible to remember anything, but all things must be matters of hope. For the same reason they are easily deceived, as being quick to hope. They are inclined to be valorous, for they are full of passion, which excludes fear, and of hope, which inspires confidence, as anger is incompatible with fear, and the hope of something good is itself a source of confidence. They are bashful, too, having as yet no independent standard of honor and having lived entirely in the school of conventional law. They have high aspirations; for they have never yet been humiliated

by the experience of life, but are unacquainted with the limiting force of circumstances; and a great idea of one's own deserts, such as is characteristic of a sanguine disposition, is itself a form of high aspiration. Again, in their actions they prefer honor to expediency, as it is habit rather than calculation which is the rule of their lives, and, while calculation pays regard to expediency, virtue pays regard exclusively to honor. Youth is the age when people are most devoted to their friends or relations or companions, as they are then extremely fond of social intercourse and have not yet learned to judge their friends, or indeed anything else, by the rule of expediency. If the young commit a fault, it is always on the side of excess and exaggeration in defiance of Chilon's maxim (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*); for they carry everything too far, whether it be their love or hatred or anything else. They regard themselves as omniscient and are positive in their assertions; this is, in fact, the reason of their carrying everything too far. Also their offenses take the line of insolence and not of meanness. They are compassionate from supposing all people to be virtuous, or at least better than they really are; for as they estimate their neighbors by their own guilelessness, they regard the evils which befall them as undeserved. Finally, they are fond of laughter and consequently facetious, facetiousness being disciplined insolence.¹

II. Keim, who has written one of the most comprehensive and scholarly of all the lives of Jesus, thinks that many, if not most, of his disciples, when he chose them, were adolescents. He says:

Though some of the disciples, as well as of the women, may have been married, yet an age of not much more than twenty years is plainly indicated in the case of the four first called, notably of the sons of Zebedee, and also of James the younger, of the youth in Judæa and Gethsemane, nay, indeed, of most of them, for they are represented as coming directly from the houses of their parents, and Jesus cautions them against preferring their parents to their Teacher, against jealous fancies and ebullitions of temper, and administers to them truly paternal censures. Just such an attitude was assumed by the Scribes toward "the young"; and thus might Jesus hope—as did Luther in more modern times—to win the old and to tear up the deeply rooted Pharisæic bondage, by means of the fresh and vigorous youths whom Judaism itself looked upon as the guard of the coming Messiah. He might also hope to find in youth the next neighbor to that innocent and humble childlikeness to which he could promise and give the kingdom of heaven.²

¹ Welldon: *Rhetoric of Aristotle*. New York, 1886, pp. 164-166.

² Keim, Theodor: *The History of Jesus of Nazara*. Translated by Arthur Ransom. London, 1877, vol. iii, p. 279.

A radically different type and ideal of adolescence arose in the early Christian Church and persisted for centuries. The mental life was in many ways narrowed and impoverished by the intense struggles for purity of body and soul which the new religion had inspired. Instead of the harmony between them that pervaded Greek thought, soul and body were now violently sundered, and asceticism assumed that the transient life of the body must be subordinated to the eternal life of the spirit, and mortification of the flesh, visions, and ecstatic communion with the divine were the ideals. The most precious and abundant data for illustrating this new attitude are fortunately at hand.

The first two volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, or *Lives of the Saints*, by the Bollandists or Jesuit editors, appeared in 1643. Each contained twelve hundred pages in close print and double columns, and both were devoted to the Saints of January. Seven folios were devoted to May, eight to September, and ten to October. Fifty-seven volumes had appeared in 1861. The new Belgian edition, finished in 1875, contained sixty-one folio volumes. Baring-Gould has selected about thirty-six hundred lives, mainly but not entirely from this source, and presented them to us in twelve volumes, one for each month.¹ He has eliminated many of the most improbable incidents. The various calendars and martyrologies and modes of apotheosis have all been considered, but are not fully treated by the English editor. Indeed, comparatively few saints have received formal canonization at Rome itself.

Although the historical character of the records may be questioned, in detail, they show how strong were the motives that impelled young men and women of all stations to take religious vows and enter upon lives of sanctity. Hence, monotonous as these lives seem to a persevering reader, they are a precious thesaurus of data showing the profound impression which the medieval Church made upon the heart and mind of youth. Some intimation of this may be given by a list of names and incidents, as copious as our limits permit, taken almost at random to be the more representative.

¹ *The Lives of the Saints*, by S. Baring-Gould. Third edition, 1877.

Theckla, so romantically enamored of St. Paul in the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Theckla, was seventeen or eighteen.

St. Martian (A. D. 300) at eighteen retired to a mountain near Cæsarea, where he lived for twenty-five years among holy solitaries, resisting incredible temptations, especially from women.

St. Agnes (303) was but thirteen, Augustine says, when she died, a martyr of purity and chastity. Rich and beauteous, she repulsed her lovers and overcame temptations.

St. Julian (310), of noble birth but precocious piety, when called to marry at eighteen refused for love of the devout life, but being compelled, chose Basilissa, and they kept together for life the vows of purity made in the nuptial chamber, with a supernatural odor of flowers although in midwinter.

St. Antony (356), of noble birth, well reared and exclusive, longed to dwell simply, being content to understand the blessed Word. At eighteen, meditating on the way to church how the Apostles had left all, he heard, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast," etc. This he did and made himself poor, taking no thought for the morrow, praying continually, and observing that if any man will not work neither shall he eat.

St. Hilarion (died 371) was reared among idolatrous Romans and well trained in grammar and rhetoric. He early turned from the madness of the circus, the blood of the arena, and the luxury of the theater, and was filled with longing to visit St. Antony in the desert. As soon as he saw him he changed his dress and the order of his life, became prayerful and humble, and returning gave away all he had. "Naked, but armed in Christ," he entered the desert at the age of fifteen and rejoiced in the terrible solitude and hardships, so that the devil who tempted his senses and tried to wear him out with hunger and thirst, cold, and horrid dreams of beasts and women, was himself finally tormented by finding that he was conquered by a boy, who at sixteen built a little cell, 4 × 5, not unlike a tomb, which is still shown.

St. Ephraem the Syrian (378) was a wild boy and indulged in various escapades, but at eighteen felt remorse, was baptized, and began to discipline his body and soul with great severity, fasting and lying on the bare ground all night in prayer.

St. Artemas was in a heathen school, but his heart was full of faith. When the master threatened, he defied, until his schoolmates stabbed him to death with the iron pens used on their wax tablets.

St. Martin of Tours (401) was attracted in boyhood to a monastic life, though his parents were heathen. His father enrolled him in the army at fifteen. Here in the Roman camp he learned faithfulness and hardihood. At eighteen, one bitter winter's day, he saw a beggar naked, and cut his mantle in two and gave him half; but the next night he saw a vision of Jesus Christ on his throne, surrounded by a host of heaven, wearing his half mantle. Now his poor beadsmen wear as their livery a mantle half red and half white.

St. John Chrysostom (407) was carefully trained by his pious mother, and only her gentle influence restrained him from becoming a monk till she died, when he entered a cave till his health failed, and then he became a preacher.

St. Euphrasia (410) became austere at twelve and refused marriage, but her "youthful spirits and passions were in effervescence and she was cruelly tormented with vain imaginations and temptations"; humiliated herself by obedience to degrading commands, and gave away her property to the poor. Unlike many saints, she was denied martyrdom, but had special power of working miracles.

St. Euphrosyne (470) at twelve was taught by her father, and the fame of her good sense and beauty was wide-spread. At eighteen, visiting a monastery, "her heart began to be solicitous in the fear of God," and she soon had her head shorn and entered upon the devout life.

St. Benedict (543), of illustrious birth, was scarcely fourteen when he renounced fortune, family, and worldly joy, plunged into wild gorges over savage hills, put on monastic habit of skin, and took up his abode in a dark and inaccessible cave, drawing up each day with a cord, when warned by a bell, the loaf which a friend provided. Here he lived three years, and when shepherds found him was thought a wild beast till he instilled grace into their rustic souls. He was strongly tempted to voluptuousness, but stripping himself naked rolled in a clump of thorns and briars "till his body was all one wound, but also till he had extinguished forever the eternal fire which inflamed him even in the desert."

St. Kentigern's (601) childhood abounds in legends. Robins perched upon his head and twittered as he chanted the songs of David, and when killed, revived when he made the sign of the cross over them. He early betook himself to a cave.

St. Columbanus (615) was well trained in the classics, but early resolved on the ascetic. Dreadful were his struggles to forget the pretty faces, bright eyes, and winning ways of the Irish girls, which were a great snare to his studies, so that he finally decided to fly from them to solitude, though to do so he had to step over the prostrate body of his weeping mother.

St. Walaric (619), among the volcanic caves of Auvergne, learned letters from a psalter while pasturing his sheep. His cravings to know more of the Great Shepherd gave him no rest, and he fled to a monastery, carrying with him "the freshness of his mountain air, the sweetness of his thyme, and became a paragon of modesty, sweetness, and gentleness."

St. Isidore (636), with the exquisite sensitiveness of youth, one day when he had run away from school saw where the dropping water had worn a stone, and the sight was to him what the Bow-Bells were later to Whittington. Dull as he was, with diligence he became an accomplished scholar. These drops were God's messengers and gave to Spain an historian, and to the Church a doctor.

St. Cuthbert (687) was a shepherd-boy of rare vigor and boldness, but prayerful and clearly a visionary. At fifteen he had begun his career as a knight attended by a squire, and when he entered the cloister showed rare aptitude for cenobitic life, surpassing all others in study, prayer, vigil, and labor, traveling and preaching far and near.

St. Werburga (eighth century), well reared and preferring Church offices to the giddy whirl of pleasure, early resolved to devote herself to virginal purity. Her beauty drew crowds of suitors, wealthy and famous, but all her affections were weaned from earthly things and fixed on God.

St. Notker Balbulus (912) stammered, but excelled in music. The school songs at St. Gall had grown very corrupt, "for Alpine bodies with their thundering voices are not adapted to sweet modulations of tone." His youthful soul was absorbed in the rhythm, cadence, and words of Church music, which he reformed and to which he made great additions.

St. Dunstan (968) had a wondrous dream, when a boy, that he was driving off dogs, and rushed on to the roof of the church and nearly fell. He did not clearly recall it, but was afterward changed. As a page at court, his jealous mates ducked him and set the dogs on him. He fell desperately in love with a beautiful girl and repelled the entreaty of his friends that he should renounce her for the woollen smock of a monk, but soon a violent and irritating eruption impelled him to the Church. After saying the first versicles at Compline, a great stone fell near him, but the devil missed his aim. When he hung his harp near a window, it played faint Æolian music as a presage of his greatness and sanctity.

St. Peter Damiani (1072) as a boy was treated almost like a slave and made a swineherd, but was finally sent to school. Here, to arm himself against the allurements of the devil, he began to wear a rough hair shirt under his clothes, and when temptations of concupiscence arose, would leave his bed and plunge into the river. He gave to the poor all he had.

St. Anselm (1109) in boyhood felt the common attractions of his age for monastic life. Then came a reaction for pleasure that banished religion and even his early love of study, especially when his Christian mother, who had been a great restraint upon him, died, "the ship of his heart lost its anchor and drifted off altogether into the waves of the world." His father's harshness drove him from home, but finally he followed Lanfranc to Bec, and his remarkable life was lived out as the world knows.

St. Bernard (1153) at the age of twelve had a vision in which his just dead mother urged him to become a monk, but his mind was expanding; the schools of Paris were stimulating; philosophy began to weave its wondrous spell; and it was only after a long struggle that he was able to "quell the fervent straining of his mind for intellectual activity" and condemn it to bondage to the soul, whose welfare

alone he resolved to cultivate. So, persuading a brother to desert his young wife, they fled to the desert and cloister.

St. Hildegund (1158) lost her clothes one night and had to put on those of a boy, which she came to retain all her life because of the freedom and protection they afforded her. She was hung and left for dead, but cut down, and had a strange vision. She was page and servant, but studied; received the tonsure; became a novice, and until her death no one knew her sex.

St. Ven (1158) early dedicated her soul and body to God and resisted her parents' efforts to make her marry. At the wedding, when asked if she would take this man, cried out before the whole church that she would not. When force was used and preparations again made, it was found that she had cut off her nose. Thus she had her way.

The austerities of St. Godrick (1170) knew no bounds. He lived on roots, leaves, flowers, and berries, and offered the food his friends brought him in the wilderness to ravens. He watched, fasted, and scourged himself; sat even in winter in the cold waters where he had hollowed a natural bath of a sunk barrel; tilled a scrap of ground and ate his grain mingled with ashes. When asked to tell of his life, he declared he was a "gross rustic, an unclean liver, an usurer, a cheat, a perjurer, a flatterer, a wanderer, pilfering and greedy; now a dead flea, a decayed dog, a vile worm; not a hermit, but a hypocrite; not a solitary, but a gad-about in mind; a devourer of alms, dainty over good things, greedy and negligent, lazy and snoring, ambitious and prodigal, one who is not worthy to serve others, and yet every day beats and scolds those who serve him—this, and worse than this, you may write of Godrick." "Then he was silent as one indignant," says his biographer, "and I went off in some confusion," and the grand old man was left to himself and to his God.

St. Dominic (1221) as a babe would creep from his soft couch to lie on the hard ground; was trained as a student, and at fifteen entered the University of Palencia, but in a famine sold his clothes and then his books to feed the poor, for he said, "How can I pursue dead parchment when breathing men are perishing?" So simple and pure of heart was he that he could find innocent pleasure "in the bright prattle of young girls rather than in the querulous gossip of old women; but the sweet flower of his childlike modesty was never injured, as it never need be, by such associations."

St. Christina the Wonderful (1224) was orphaned at fifteen and fell down in a fit; was laid out and taken on a bier, but in the midst of the funeral jumped from her coffin, ran after the mourners in her winding-sheet, and climbed up a pillar to the roof, where she sat "like a bird." In her trance she had been carried to hell and then to purgatory, where she saw many acquaintances and friends, whom she warned and sought to liberate by doing all the absurd penances by which her friends' souls had found purgation in her vision. She had a hysterical loathing of the scent of mankind, especially of peasants,

to avoid which she was wont to climb tree-tops and the summit of church towers, sometimes balancing herself beside the weathercock. She would plunge into fire and scatter brands with her feet; dive under the sluice of a mill-wheel and go through the conduit; would suspend herself dangling between the corpses of criminals on the gibbet; scald herself with hot water; coil herself into a ball and straighten herself out with marvelous flexibility.

St. Francis of Assisi (1226) as a child acquired the French tongue so easily that it seemed a miracle, although he did not speak it correctly. In early youth he was almost miserly; loved eating and drinking and cheerful society; and finally developed a taste for arms, but met a poor warrior vilely clad, to whom he gave his armor, being rewarded by a better one in a dream at night. He fell ill and heard a voice saying, "Francis, whom does it profit most to follow, the master or the servant?" And he replied, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" He gave up drinking, frolic, music, laughter, and wooed the muse of charity and self-denial.

St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1231) was espoused to Prince Ludwig when she was nine and he fifteen, but she was wretchedly treated by his mother Sophia. At a ceremonial before the crucifix she took off her coronet and knelt weeping in an ecstasy of devotion despite rude reproof. At ten, having thrice drawn St. John by lottery, he was chosen as her patron saint. She dreamed that she was visited by her dead mother. She was long tormented by cruel hints that her prince was tired of her and would never return, although he was true and wedded her when she was fifteen, after which she devoted herself to the poor, giving from her own stock of clothing, miraculously renewed, and for years subject to the influence of an inquisitor, Conrad of Marburg. She died at the age of twenty-four.

St. Edmund (1242), when on his way to school, saw a beautiful boy who greeted him by name, who proved to be the child Jesus, and was told to write this name on his brow with his finger each night and he would be kept from sudden death. Seeing a flock of rooks, he made the sign of the cross and they flew off, and he saw that they were devils waiting to carry off the souls of sinners. In his teens the daughter of his host fell in love with him and stole into his room by night, but he grasped his birch rod and covered her back with purple wheals, which she had to endure, lest if she screamed her parents would find her out.

St. Clara (1253) in the middle teens heard the great Francis, and his voice and enthusiasm thrilled her heart and filled her with the vehemence of love and a passion of devotion that nothing could quench in after years. She had dedicated her life to the mendicants, and when she was eighteen the Bishop's eye rested upon her in the cathedral, modest, bashful, standing back and without a palm, and to the amazement of all he stepped down and handed her one. This was her consecration. She fell on her knees before the barefoot friars; tore off her jewels, brocade, and velvet; bowed her head to the shears and

received the coarse gray; and enrolled herself among the champions of poverty. Thus, despite the entreaties of her friends, she persisted in the ascetic life and proceeded to develop her order—The Poor Clares.

St. Peter Nolasco (1256) had an early passion for *matin* soon after midnight and for charity. At fifteen, orphaned and rich, he began to strengthen in himself the Christian graces. Being urged to marry, he cast himself before the crucifix all night and vowed his patrimony to the Church and himself to celibacy.

St. Juliana (1258) fasted as a child, and when punished by an order to kneel a few minutes in the snow, did so so gladly that it was seen that she was born for a life of austerity. At fourteen, hearing the first strains of the *Vexilla Regis*, she shook with emotion; tears flowed, and she gave all her wealth and her life in exchange for the veil; and at sixteen began to have visions, and later became a famous Superior.

St. Louis (1270). This hero and ideal of youth, who pushed the virtues of king, hero, and man combined to so high a point, "allying the majesty of the throne with the holiness of the Gospel and the humiliations of penance," succeeded his father at the age of twelve. At fourteen he submitted to a hard tutor, who beat him. His expression was so sweet that none could see him without love. His gentleness, sympathy, passionate love of justice, truth, and honor awakened very early. He observed all fasts; would taste fruit but once a year; wore sackcloth next his skin; submitted to the cruel discipline of wire; walked on pilgrimages with bleeding feet; washed those of beggars; and even bore reproaches with meekness.

St. Ambrose of Sienna (1287) carved little crosses; imitated processions; furnished a room, where he lodged pilgrims; washed their feet; took them to mass; visited hospitals and prisons until the age of seventeen, when he entered the Dominican Order and went to Cologne to study with Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas.

The Blessed Oringa (1310), a peasant girl, so kind that her cows became docile and obeyed her voice in all things, refused marriage; disguised her beauty with walnut juice, took service, and was devoted to ecstasy and prayer.

St. Frances of Rome (1440) from childhood longed for the convent, and when at twelve she learned that her father had promised her hand to a nobleman of great wealth and virtue was overwhelmed with grief and with great difficulty was persuaded by her director to yield. But her husband encouraged and even venerated her sanctity, and her life brought many to the true faith.

St. Colette (1447) at the age of seven yearned for the cloister; made herself a little oratory in the back yard where she spent hours in communion with God, and to this she fled to escape her youthful companions. She always gave her food to the poor, and at twenty-two became a voluntary recluse in an anchorite cell built against the church wall.

St. Catharine (1463) at eleven joined the Order of Poor Clares

and entered its convent. Her fervor of soul, gentleness, and obedience, long hours of prayer, cheerfulness, and power to resist temptation were themselves almost miraculous.

The Blessed Veronica (1497) worked in the fields all day and tried to study her primer at night until the first apparition of the Virgin told her to leave study and learn but three letters—white for purity, black for the dead world, and red for meditation on the passion, and thus she advanced on the way of perfection.

St. Francis of Paula (1508), at twelve in a convent, voluntarily denied himself the use of linen and meat; soon withdrew a mile from town to a cave in the face of a rock, where at fifteen he shut himself up with no bed than the rock, and no food but herbs and what his friends sometimes brought. Before he was twenty others had joined him, and the neighbors had built three cells and a chapel, where they sang God's praises, and a priest joined them and a new order was founded. His later history fills an important place.

St. Theresa's (1585) father delighted in books and bought them in Spanish that his children might read. Her mother was an invalid. The children's minds were steeped in the lives of the saints, and they once started for Morocco in the hope of being martyred. When Theresa was twelve her mother died, and with prayers and tears she adopted the Sovereign Virgin to be her mother, who afterward took care of her. She read romance secretly from her father, and much injured her modesty and caused her many hours of prayer by day and night. She was vain of her hair and hands and fond of perfumes. Her chosen friend was flighty and vain. At fourteen she was removed to a convent, where at first she was very unhappy, but soon grew tired of her vanities, confessed often, became beloved though was tempted of the devil. After eighteen months she fell ill and stayed with her uncle, who was very religious. She suffered from fevers and fainting fits, and longed to enter a religious order against her father's will, and at seventeen ran away and did so. At eighteen she became a novice in the Carmelite House of the Incarnation. The change injured her health, and she sought to convert a fallen priest, but soon had a cataleptic fit, which lasted four days, and at one time she was thought dead. She had bitten her tongue, and was full of nervous and hysterical pains. She had a vision of the Lord, who looked angrily at her. She perpetually changed her confessors. After reading Augustine's Confessions, her hysteria took the form of ecstasy and vision, and she at last found a confessor, who told her these raptures came from God, and she must henceforth converse with angels. Once she saw a seraph stab her with a dart whose point burned with fire. She often saw our Lord, gazing at his wondrous beauty and sweetness, as she said, "with his most lovely and divine mouth." Very vividly she saw and described the place the devils had prepared for her. Whenever she saw any one she liked, her instant and consuming desire was that he should give himself to God. She soon began to form her first convent of discalced monks, and in

1582, when she died, had established sixteen of these foundations. Nine months later her body was found "perfect and uncorrupted." Seven years later it was hardly changed save a few parts that had been cut off for relics. Now her dead heart at Avila glows at times with such ardor and devotion as to break a glass ball under which it is preserved. At Naples her scapula, at Paris a lump of her flesh, at Craco two large slices "highly scented," at Rome her right foot, at Lisbon her left arm, at Seville her fingers are venerated.

St. Rose of Lima (1617) was named from her complexion, and so added the name Mary. When playing with her brother, he plastered her long, rich, brown hair with mud, and when she sulked he said, "You little know what a frizzling girl's hairs get in hell-fire if they are vain of them." So, although she was but five, she shaved her head, to the grief and horror of her parents. Later, when in festivals she had to wear wreaths and garlands of flowers, she proceeded to bind thorns into them. When her mother required her to sleep in gloves to make her hands soft, she inserted nettles, till they were blotched and inflamed. When she had a cold and plasters were applied, she would not remove them till the skin fell off. When her fingers were admired, she rubbed them with lime till they were useless for thirty days. She pulled the flocks from her pillows and stuffed them with chips; wore a crown of ninety-nine thorns, as she is represented in art, and was mystically married to the Infant Jesus.

St. Francis of Sales (1622) at the age of eleven implored permission to take the tonsure. At seventeen his conscience awoke and he felt that he was not in a state of grace, and prayed in anguish for six weeks, when at last near death his eye caught sight of the famous prayer of St. Bernard. He vowed chastity, and the clouds lifted and God's favor was shown.

St. Vincent of Paul (1660) was a peasant's child watching sheep and swine, but would secretly climb into an oak to say his prayers. Later he found the hollow of a tree and used it as a cell, and this was the manner of his call.

The knightly ideals and those of secular life generally during the middle ages and later were in striking contrast to all this; in some respects they were like those of the Greeks. Honor was the leading ideal, and muscular development and that of the body were held in high respect; so that the spirit of the age fostered conceptions not unlike those of the Japanese Bushido (Chapter III). Where elements of Christianity were combined with this we have the spirit of the pure chivalry of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, which affords perhaps the very best ideals for youth to be found in history, as we shall see more fully later.

In a very interesting paper, entitled *Shakespeare and Adolescence*, Dr. M. F. Libby¹ very roughly reckons "seventy-four interesting adolescents among the comedies, forty-six among the tragedies, and nineteen among the histories." He selects "thirty characters who, either on account of direct references to their age, or because of their love-stories, or because they show the emotional and intellectual plasticity of youth, may be regarded as typical adolescents." His list is as follows: Romeo, Juliet, Hamlet, Ophelia, Imogen, Perdita, Arviragus, Guiderius, Palamon, Arcite, Emilia, Ferdinand, Miranda, Isabella, Mariana, Orlando, Rosalind, Biron, Portia, Jessica, Phebe, Katharine, Helena, Viola, Troilus, Cressida, Cassio, Marina, Prince Hal, and Richard of Gloucester. The proof of the youth of these characters, as set forth, is of various kinds, and Libby holds that besides these, the sonnets and poems perhaps show a yet greater, more profound and concentrated knowledge of adolescence. He thinks *Venus and Adonis* a successful attempt to treat sex in a candid, naive way, if it be read as it was meant, as a catharsis of passion, in which is latent a whole philosophy of art. To some extent he also finds the story of the *Passionate Pilgrim* "replete with the deepest knowledge of the passions of early adolescence." The series culminates in *Sonnet 116*, which makes love the sole beacon of humanity. It might be said that it is connected by a straight line with the best teachings of Plato, and that here humanity picked up the clue, lost, save with some Italian poets, in the great interval.

III. In looking over current biographies of well-known modern men who deal with their boyhood, one finds curious extremes. On the one hand are those of which Goethe's is a type, where details are dwelt upon at great length with careful and suggestive philosophic reflections. The development of his own tastes, capacities, and his entire adult consciousness was assumed to be due to the incidents of childhood and youth, and especially the latter stage was to him full of the most serious problems essential to his self-knowledge; and in the story of his life he has exploited all available resources of

¹ *Ped. Sem.*, June, 1901.

this genetic period of storm and stress more fully perhaps than any other writer. At the other extreme, we have writers like Charles Dudley Warner,¹ a self-made man, whose early life was passed on the farm, and who holds his own boyhood there in greater contempt than perhaps any other reputable writer of such reminiscences. All the incidents are treated not only with seriousness, but with a forced drollery and catchy superficiality which reflect unfavorably at almost every point upon the members of his household, who are caricatured; all the precious associations of early life on a New England farm are not only made absurd, but from beginning to end his book has not a scintilla of instruction or suggestion for those that are interested in child life. Aldrich² is better, and we have interesting glimpses of the pet horse and monkeys, of his fighting the boy bully, running away, and falling in love with an older girl whose engagement later blighted his life. Howells,³ White,⁴ Mitter,⁵ Grahame,⁶ Heidi,⁷ and Mrs. Burnett,⁸ might perhaps represent increasing grades of merit in this field in this respect.

Yoder,⁹ in his interesting study of the boyhood of great men, has called attention to the deplorable carelessness of their biographers concerning the facts and influences of their youth. He advocates the great pedagogic influence of biography, and would restore the high appreciation of it felt by the Bolandists, which Comte's positivist calendar, that renamed all the days of the year from three hundred and sixty-five such accounts in 1849, also sought to revive. Yoder selected fifty great modern biographies, autobiographies preferred, for his study. He found a number whose equipment and momentum have been strikingly due to some devoted aunt, and that give many glimpses of the first polarization of genius in the direction in which fame is later achieved. He holds that while the great men excelled in memory, that imagination is perhaps still more a youthful condition of eminence, magnifies the stimulus of poverty, the fact that elder sons become prom-

¹ Being a Boy.

² Story of a Bad Boy.

³ A Boy's Town.

⁴ Court of Boyville.

⁵ The Spoilt Child.

⁶ The Golden Age.

⁷ Frau Spyri.

⁸ The One I Knew Best of All.

⁹ The Study of the Boyhood of Great Men. Ped. Sem., October, 1894, vol iii, pp. 134-156.

inent nearly twice as often as younger ones, and raises the question whether too exuberant physical development does not dull genius and talent.

One striking and cardinal fact never to be forgotten in considering its each and every phenomenon and stage is that the experiences of adolescence are extremely transitory and very easily forgotten, so that they are often totally lost to the adult consciousness. Lancaster¹ observes that we are constantly told by adults past thirty that they never had this and that experience, and that those who have had them are abnormal; that they are far more rare than students of childhood assert, etc. He says, "Not a single young person with whom I have had free and open conversation has been free from serious thoughts of suicide," but these are forgotten later. A typical case of many I could gather is that of a lady, not yet in middle life, precise and carefully trained, who, on hearing a lecture on the typical phases of adolescence, declared that she must have been abnormal, for she knew nothing of any of these experiences. Her mother, however, produced her diary, and there she read for the first time since it was written, beginning in the January of her thirteenth year, a long series of resolutions which revealed a course of conduct that brought the color to her face, that she should have found it necessary to pledge not to swear, lie, etc., and which showed conclusively that she had passed through about all the phases described. These phenomena are sometimes very intense and may come late in life, but it is impossible to remember feelings and emotions with definiteness, and these now make up a large part of life. Hence we are prone to look with some incredulity upon the immediate records of the tragic emotions and experiences typical and normal at this time, because development has scored away their traces from the conscious soul.

There is a wall around the town of Boyville, says White,² in substance, which is impenetrable when its gates have once shut upon youth. An adult may peer over the wall and try to ape the games inside, but finds it all a mockery and himself

¹ *The Vanishing Character of Adolescent Experiences.* North Western Mo., June, 1898, vol. viii, p. 644.

² *The Court of Boyville,* by William Allen White. New York, 1899, p. 358.

banished among the purblind grown-ups. The town of Boyville was old when Nineveh was a hamlet; it is ruled by ancient laws; has its own rulers and idols; and only the dim, unreal noises of the adult world about it have changed.

In exploring such sources we soon see how few writers have given true pictures of the chief traits of this developmental period, which can rarely be ascertained with accuracy. The adult finds it hard to recall the emotional and instinctive life of the teens which is banished without a trace, save as scattered hints may be gathered from diaries, chance experiences, or the recollections of others. But the best observers see but very little of what goes on in the youthful soul, the development of which is very largely subterranean. Only when the feelings erupt in some surprising way is the process manifest. The best of these sources are autobiographies, and of these only few are full of the details of this stage. Just as in the mythic prehistoric stage of many nations there is a body of legendary matter, which often reappears in somewhat different form, so there is a floating plankton-like mass of tradition and storiology that seems to attach to eminence wherever it emerges and is repeated over and over again, concerning the youth of men who later achieve distinction, which biographers often incorporate and attach to the time, place, and person of their heroes.

As Burnham¹ well intimates, many of the literary characterizations of adolescence are so marked by extravagance, and sometimes even by the struggle for literary effects, that they are not always the best documents, although often based on personal experience. Confessionalism is generally overdrawn, distorted, and especially the pains of this age are represented as too keen. Of George Eliot's types of adolescent character, this may best be seen in Maggie Tulliver, with her enthusiastic self-renunciation, with "her volcanic upheavings of imprisoned passions," with her "wide, hopeless yearning for that something, whatever it was, that was greatest and best on this earth," and in Gwendolen, who, from the moment she caught Deronda's eye, was "totally swayed in feeling and action by the presence of a person of the other sex whom she

¹ The Study of Adolescence. Ped. Sem., vol. i, p. 174 *et seq.*

had never seen before." There was "the resolute action from instinct and the setting at defiance of calculation and reason, the want of any definite desire to marry, while all her conduct tended to promote proposals." Exaggeration, although not the perversions of this age often found in adult characterizations, is a marked trait of the writings of adolescents, whose conduct meanwhile may appear rational, so that this suggests that consciousness may at this stage serve as a harmless vent for tendencies that would otherwise cause great trouble if turned to practical affairs. If Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the adolescent tyrant slayers of Greece, had been theorists, they might have been harmless on the principle that its analysis tends to dissipate emotion.

Lancaster¹ gathered and glanced over a thousand biographies, from which he selected 200 for careful study, choosing them to show different typical directions of activity. Of these, 120 showed a distinct craze for reading in adolescence; 109 became great lovers of nature; 58 wrote poetry; 58 showed a great and sudden development of energy; 55 showed great eagerness for school; 53 devoted themselves for a season to art and music; 53 became very religious; 51 left home in the teens; 51 showed dominant instincts of leadership; 49 had great longings of many kinds; 46 developed scientific tastes; 41 grew very anxious about the future; 34 developed increased keenness of sensation or at least power of observation; in 32 cases health was better; 31 were passionately altruistic; 23 became idealists; 23 showed powers of invention; 17 were devoted to older friends; 15 would reform society; 7 hated school. These, like many other statistics, have only indicative value, as they are based on numbers that are not large enough and upon returns not always complete.

A few typical instances from Lancaster must here suffice. Savonarola was solitary, pondering, meditating, felt profoundly the evils of the world and need of reform, and at twenty-two spent a whole night planning his career. Shelley during these years was unsocial, much alone, fantastic, wan-

¹ Lancaster: *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence*. Ped. Sem., July, 1897, vol. v, p. 106.

dered much by moonlight communing with stars and moon, was attached to an older man. Beecher was intoxicated with nature, which he declared afterward to have been the inspiration of his life. George Eliot had a passion for music at thirteen and became a clever pianist. At sixteen she was religious, founded societies for the poor and animals, and had flitting spells of misanthropy. Edison undertook to read the Detroit Free Library through, read fifteen solid feet as the books stand on the shelves, was stopped, and says he has read comparatively little since. Tolstoi found the aspect of things suddenly changed. Nature put on a new appearance. He felt he might commit the most dreadful crimes with no purpose save curiosity and the need of action. The future looked gloomy. He became furiously angry without cause; thought he was lost; hated by everybody, was perhaps not the son of his father, etc. At seventeen he was solitary, musing about immortality, human destiny, feeling death at hand, giving up his studies, fancying himself a great man with new truths for humanity. By and by he took up the old virtuous course of life with fresh power, new resolutions, with the feeling that he had lost much time. He had a deep religious experience at seventeen and wept for joy over his new life. He had a period before twenty when he told desperate lies, for which he could not account, then a passion for music, and later for French novels. Rousseau at this age was discontented, immensely in love, wept often without cause, etc. Keats had a great change at fourteen, wrestling with frequent obscure and profound stirrings of soul, with a sudden hunger for knowledge which consumed his days with fire, and "with passionate longing to drain the cup of experience at a draft." He was "at the morning hour when the whole world turns to gold." "The boy had suddenly become a poet." Chatterton was too proud to eat a gift dinner, though nearly starved, and committed suicide at seventeen for lack of appreciation. John Hunter was dull and hated study, but at twenty his mind awoke as did that of Patrick Henry, who before was a lonely wanderer, sitting idly for hours under the trees. Alexander Murray awoke to life at fifteen and acquired several languages in less than two years. Gifford was distraught for lack of reading, went to sea at thirteen, became

a shoemaker, studying algebra late at night, was savagely unsociable, sunk into torpor from which he was roused to do splenetic and vexatious tricks, which alienated his friends. Rittenhouse at fourteen was a plowboy, covering the fences with figures, musing on infinite time and space. Benjamin Thompson was roused to a frenzy for sciences at fifteen; at seventeen walked nine miles daily to attend lectures at Cambridge; and at nineteen married a widow of thirty-three. Franklin had a passion for the sea; at thirteen read poetry all night; wrote verses and sold them on the streets of Boston; doubted everything at fifteen; left home for good at seventeen; started the first public library in Philadelphia before he was twenty-one. Robert Fulton was poor, dreamy, mercurial, devoted to nature, art, and literature. He became a painter of talent, then a poet, and left home at seventeen. Bryant was sickly till fourteen and became permanently well thereafter; was precociously devoted to nature, religion, prayed for poetic genius and wrote *Thanatopsis* before he was eighteen. Jefferson doted on animals and nature at fourteen, and at seventeen studied fifteen hours a day. Garfield, though living in Ohio, longed for the sea, and ever after this period the sight of a ship gave him a strange thrill. Hawthorne was devoted to the sea and wanted to sail on and on forever and never touch shore again. He would roam through the Maine woods alone; was haunted by the fear that he would die before twenty-five. Peter Cooper left home at seventeen; was passionately altruistic; and at eighteen vowed he would build a place like his New York Institute. Whittier at fourteen found a copy of Burns, which excited him and changed the current of his life. Holmes had a passion for flowers, broke into poetry at fifteen, and had very romantic attachments to certain trees in particular. J. T. Trowbridge learned German, French, and Latin alone before twenty-one; composed poetry at the plow and wrote it out in the evening. Joseph Henry followed a rabbit under the Public Library at Albany, found a hole in the floor that admitted him to the shelves, and, unknown to any one, he read all the fiction the library contained, then turned to physics, astronomy, and chemistry, and developed a passion for the sciences. He was stage-struck, and became a good amateur actor. H. H. Boyesen

was thrilled by nature and by the thought that he was a Norseman. He had several hundred pigeons, rabbits, and other pets; loved to be in the woods at night; on leaving home for school was found with his arms around the neck of a calf to which he was saying good-by. Maxwell, at sixteen, had almost a horror of destroying a leaf, flower, or fly. Jahn found growing in his heart, at this age, an inextinguishable feeling for right and wrong—which later he thought the cause of all his inner weal and outer woe. When Nansen was in his teens he spent weeks at a time alone in the forest, full of longings, courage, altruism, wanted to get away from every one and live like Crusoe. T. B. Reed, at twelve and thirteen, had a passion for reading; ran away at seventeen; painted, acted, and wrote poetry. Cartwright, at sixteen, heard voices from the sky saying, "Look above." "Thy sins are forgiven thee." Herbert Spencer became an engineer at seventeen, after one idle year. He never went to school, but was a private pupil of his uncle. Sir James Mackintosh grew fond of history at eleven; fancied he was the Emperor of Constantinople; loved solitude at thirteen; wrote poetry at fourteen; and fell in love at seventeen. Thomas Buxton loved dogs, horses, and literature, and combined these while riding on an old horse. At sixteen he fell in love with an older literary woman, which aroused every latent power to do or die, and thereafter he took all the school prizes. Scott began to like poetry at thirteen. Pascal wrote treatises on conic sections at sixteen and invented his arithmetical machine at nineteen. Nelson went to sea at twelve; commanded a boat in peril at fifteen, which at the same age he left to fight a polar bear. Banks, the botanist, was idle and listless till fourteen, could not travel the road marked out for him; when coming home from bathing, he was struck by the beauty of the flowers and at once began his career. Montcalm and Wolfe both distinguished themselves as leaders in battle at sixteen. Lafayette came to America at nineteen, thrilled by our bold strike for liberty. Gustavus Adolphus declared his own majority at seventeen and was soon famous. Ida Lewis rescued four men in a boat at sixteen. Joan of Arc began at thirteen to have the visions which were the later guide of her life.

Mr. Swift has collected interesting biographical material¹ to show that school work is analytic, while life is synthetic, and how the narrowness of the school enclosure prompts many youth in the wayward age to jump fences and seek new and more alluring pastures. According to school standards, many were dull and indolent, but their nature was too large or their ideals too high to be satisfied with it. Wagner at the Niko-laischule at Leipzig was relegated to the third form, having already attained to the second at Dresden, which so embittered him that he lost all taste for philology and, in his own words, "became lazy and slovenly." Priestley never improved by any systematic course of study. W. H. Gibson was very slow and was rebuked for wasting his time in sketching. James Russell Lowell was reprimanded, at first privately and then publicly, in his sophomore year "for general negligence in themes, forensics, and recitations," and finally suspended in 1838 "on account of continued neglect of his college duties." In early life Goldsmith's teacher thought him the dullest boy she had ever taught. His tutor called him ignorant and stupid. Irving says that a lad "whose passions are not strong enough in youth to mislead him from that path of science which his tutors, and not his inclinations, have chalked out, by four or five years' perseverance, will probably obtain every advantage and honor his college can bestow. I would compare the man whose youth has been thus passed in the tranquility of dispassionate prudence, to liquors that never ferment, and, consequently, continue always muddy." Huxley detested writing till past twenty. His schooling was very brief, and he declared that those set over him "cared about as much for his intellectual and moral welfare as if they were baby farmers." Humphry Davy was faithful but showed no talent in school, having "the reputation of being an idle boy, with a gift for making verses, but with no aptitude for studies of a graver sort." Later in life he considered it fortunate that he was left so much to himself. Byron was so poor a scholar that he only stood at the head of the class when, as was the custom, it was inverted, and the bantering master repeatedly said to him, "Now, George, man, let me see how soon you'll

¹ Standards of Efficiency in School and in Life. Ped. Sem., March, 1903.

be at the foot." Schiller's negligence and lack of alertness called for repeated reproof, and his final school thesis was unsatisfactory. Hegel was a poor scholar, and at the university it was stated "that he was of middling industry and knowledge but especially deficient in philosophy." John Hunter nearly became a cabinetmaker. Lyell had excessive aversion to work. George Combe wondered why he was so inferior to other boys in arithmetic. Heine agreed with the monks that Greek was the invention of the devil. "God knows what misery I suffered with it." He hated French meters, and his teacher vowed he had no soul for poetry. He idled away his time at Bonn, and was "horribly bored" by the "odious, stiff, cut-and-dried tone" of the leathery professors. Humboldt was feeble as a child and "had less facility in his studies than most children." "Until I reached the age of sixteen," he says, "I showed little inclination for scientific pursuits." He was essentially self-taught, and acquired most of his knowledge rather late in life. At nineteen he had never heard of botany. Sheridan was called inferior to many of his schoolfellows. He was remarkable for nothing but idleness and winning manners, and was "not only slovenly in constructing, but unusually defective in his Greek grammar." Swift was refused his degree because of "dulness and insufficiency," but given it later as a special favor. Wordsworth was disappointing. General Grant was never above mediocrity, and was dropped as corporal in the junior class and served the last year as a private. W. H. Seward was called "too stupid to learn." Napoleon graduated forty-second in his class. "Who," asks Swift, "were the forty-one above him?" Darwin was "singularly incapable of mastering any language." When he left school, he says, "I was considered by all my masters and by my father as a very ordinary boy, rather below the common standard in intellect. To my deep mortification, my father once said to me, 'You care for nothing but shooting, dogs, and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and to all your family.'" Harriet Martineau was thought very dull. Though a born musician, she could do absolutely nothing in the presence of her irritable master. She wrote a cramped, untidy scrawl until past twenty. A visit to some very brilliant cousins at the age of sixteen had

much to do in arousing her backward nature. At this age Pierpont Morgan wrote poetry and was devoted to mathematics. Booker T. Washington, at about thirteen or fourteen (he does not know the date of his birth), felt the new meaning of life and started off on foot to Hampton, five hundred miles away, not knowing even the direction, sleeping under a sidewalk his first night in Richmond. Vittoria de Feltre, according to Dr. Burnham, had a slow, tardy development, lingering on a sluggish dead level from ten to fourteen, which to his later unfoldment was as the barren, improving years sometimes called the middle ages, compared with the remainder which followed when a new world-consciousness intensified his personality.

Lancaster's summaries show that of 100 actors, the average age of their first great success was exactly 18 years. Those he chose had taken to the stage of their own accord, for actors are more born than made. Nearly half of them were Irish, the unemotional American stock having furnished far less. Few make their first success on the stage after 22, but from 16 to 20 is the time to expect talent in this line, although there is a second rise in his curve before and still more after 25, representing those whose success is more due to intellect. Taking the average of 100 novelists when their first story met with public approval, the curve reaches its highest point between 30 and 35. Averaging 53 poets, the age of most first poems published falls between 15 and 20. The average age of first publication that showed talent he places at 18, which is in striking contrast with the average age of the first patent of inventors, which is 33 years.

A still more striking contrast is that between 100 musicians and 100 professional men. Music is by far the most precious and instinctive of all talents. The average age when marked talent was first shown is a little less than 10 years, 95 per cent showed rare talent before 16, while the professional men graduated at an average age of 24 years and 11 months, and 10 years must be added to mark the point of recognized success. Of 53 artists, 90 per cent showed talent before 20, the average age being 17.2 years. Of 100 pioneers who made their mark in the Far West, leaving home to seek fortunes near the frontier, the greatest number departed be-

fore they were 18. Of 118 scientists, Lancaster estimates that their life interest first began to glow on the average a little before they were 19. In general, those whose success is based on emotional traits antedate by some years those whose renown is more purely in intellectual spheres, and taking all together, the curves of the first class culminate between 18 and 20.

IV. While men devoted to physical science, and their biographers, give us perhaps the least breezy accounts of this seething age, it may be, because they mature late, nearly all show its ferments and its circumnutations, as a few almost random illustrations clearly show :

Tycho Brahe, born in 1546 of illustrious Danish stock, was adopted by an uncle, and entered the University of Copenhagen at thirteen, where multiplication, division, philosophy, and metaphysics were taught. When he was fourteen an eclipse of the sun occurred, which aroused so much interest that he decided to devote himself to the study of the heavenly bodies. He was able to construct a series of interesting instruments on a progressive scale of size, and finally to erect the great Observatory of Uraniberg on the Island of Hven. Strange to say, his scientific conclusions had for him profound astrological significance. An important new star he declared was "at first like Venus and Jupiter, and its effects will therefore first be pleasant; but as it then became like Mars, there will next come a period of wars, seditions, captivity, and death of princes, and destruction of cities, together with dryness and fiery meteors in the air, pestilence, and venomous snakes. Lastly, the star became like Saturn, and thus will finally come a time of want, death, imprisonment, and all kinds of sad things!" He says that "a special use of astronomy is that it enables us to draw conclusions from the movements in the celestial regions as to human fate." He labored on his island twenty years. He was always versifying, and inscribed a poem over the entrance of his underground observatory, expressing the astonishment of Urania at finding in the interior of the earth a cavern devoted to the study of the heavens.

Galileo¹ was born in 1564 of a Florentine noble, who was poor. As a youth he became an excellent lutist, then thought of devoting himself to painting, but when he was seventeen studied medicine, and at the University of Pisa fell in love with mathematics.

Isaac Newton,² born in 1642, very frail and sickly, solitary, had a

¹ See *The Private Life of Galileo*. Anon. Macmillan, 1870.

² See *Brewster's Life of Newton*.

very low place in the class lists of his school; wrote poetry, and at sixteen tried farming. In one of his university examinations in Euclid he did so poorly as to incur special censure. His first incentive to diligent study came from being severely kicked by a high class boy. He then resolved to pass him in studies, and soon rose to the head of the school. He made many ingenious toys and wind-mills; a carriage, the wheels of which were driven by the hands of the occupants, and a clock which moved by water; curtains, kites, lanterns, etc.; and before he was fourteen fell in love with Miss Storey, several years older than himself. He entered Trinity College at Cambridge at eighteen.

Flamsteed, born in 1646, as a youth was very fond of highly imaginative romances, but at twelve resolved to leave the wilder ones and read only those which it was possible to picture. By fifteen his reading craze had taken him through Plutarch's Lives, Tacitus, etc., but he made no progress in arithmetic before he was ten. Up to eighteen he was sickly, and had to live in the chimney corner in winter. At nineteen, in despair his father took him to a quack, who "touched and stroked him," but gradually thereafter he grew better; investigated the methods of casting a nativity, but later found astrology not definite enough.

William Herschel, born in 1738, at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, when he was eighteen, was a performer in the regimental band, and after a battle passed a night in a ditch and escaped in disguise to England, where he eked out a precarious livelihood by teaching music. He supported himself until middle age as an organist. In much of his later work he was greatly aided by his sister Caroline. When he discovered a sixth planet he became famous, and devoted himself exclusively to astronomy, training his only son to follow in his footsteps, and dying in 1822.

Agassiz¹ at twelve had developed a mania for collecting. He memorized Latin names, of which he accumulated "great volumes of MSS.," and "modestly expressed the hope that in time he might be able to give the name of every known animal." At fourteen he revolted at mercantile life, for which he was designed, and issued a manifesto planning to spend four years at a German university, then in Paris, when he could begin to write. Books were scarce, and a little later he copied, with the aid of his brother, several large volumes, and had fifty live birds in his room at one time.

At twelve Huxley² became an omnivorous reader, and two or three years later devoured Hamilton's Logic and became deeply interested in metaphysics. At fourteen he saw and participated in his first post-mortem examination, was left in a strange state of apathy by it, and dates his life-long dyspepsia to this experience. His training was irregular; he taught himself German with a book in one hand

¹ His Life and Work, by C. F. Holder.

² Life and Letters of Thomas H. Huxley, by his son Leonard Huxley.

while he made hay with the other; speculated about the basis of matter, soul, and their relations, on radicalism and conservatism; and reproaches himself that he does not work and get on enough. At seventeen he attempted a comprehensive classification of human knowledge, and having finished his survey, resolved to master the topics one after another, striking them out from his table with ink as soon as they were done. "May the list soon get black, although at present I shall hardly be able, I am afraid, to spot the paper." Beneath the top skimmings of these years he afterward conceived seething depths working beneath the froth, but could give hardly any account of it. He undertook the practise of pharmacy, etc.

The great surgeon Billroth (1829-94), a man of immense energy, illustrates strikingly a second vocation remote from that in which his fame was achieved. As a youth he desired to devote himself to music for life. He felt himself to be, as he said, "truly a child of music and the stage." Music, says Hemmeter,¹ remained his tried and beloved companion until the end of his days. Not only did he play violin and piano well, but was at work for many years upon his volume, *Wer ist Musikalisch*, only part of which was published during his life, and which is one of the most suggestive works ever written upon what might be called the physiological psychology of music.

Carl Gegenbaur,² in his autobiography, describes the effect of his father's removal to a beautiful country region when the son was twelve, how deeply the lovely face of nature impressed him in the trips he often made, and how susceptible his soul was to the influences of the good Catholic pastor. He had no pleasant memories of his gymnasial life, because of its extreme severity, and the vacations too brief for his loved excursions. In these, although ostensibly for the purpose of hunting, he was collecting and dissecting small animals; making a flower calendar; filling his hunting pouch with roots; studying local myths, heraldry, medieval history, and other allotria, and engaging in patriotic celebrations; but at nineteen had found his direction in the medical course of the university, where he, too, had a slight religious *Aufklärung*, but not enough to cause him to break permanently with the old associations.

V. Women with literary gifts perhaps surpass men in their power to reproduce and describe the great but so often evanescent ebullitions of this age; perhaps because their later lives, on account of their more generic nature, depart less from this totalizing period, or because, although it is psychologically shorter than in men, the necessities of earn-

¹ Theodor Billroth, Musical and Surgical Philosopher. Johns Hopkins Hospital Bull., December, 1900, No. 117.

² *Ererbtes und Erstrebtes*. Leipzig, 1901.

ing a livelihood less frequently arrest its full development, and again because they are more emotional, and feeling constitutes the chief psychic ingredient of this stage of life, or they dwell more on subjective states.

Manon Philipon (Madame Roland) was born in 1754. Her father was an engraver in comfortable circumstances. Her earliest enthusiasm was for the Bible and Lives of the Saints, and she had almost a mania for reading books of any kind. In the corner of her father's workshop she would read Plutarch for hours, dream of the past glories of antiquity, and exclaim, weeping, "Why was I not born a Greek?" She desired to emulate the brave men of old.

Books and flowers aroused her to dreams of enthusiasm, romantic sentiment, and lofty aspiration. Finding that the French society afforded no opportunity for heroic living, in her visionary fervor she fell back upon a life of religious mysticism, and Xavier, Loyola, St. Elizabeth, and St. Theresa became her new idols. She longed to follow even to the stake those devout men and women who had borne obloquy, poverty, hunger, thirst, wretchedness, and the agony of a martyr's death for the sake of Jesus. Her capacities for self-sacrifice became perhaps her leading trait, always longing after a grand life like George Eliot's Dorothea Brooke. She was allowed at the age of eleven to enter a convent, where, shunning her companions, she courted solitude apart, under the trees, reading and thinking. Artificial as the atmosphere was here, it no doubt inspired her life with permanent tenderness of feeling and loftiness of purpose, and gave a mystic quality to her imagination. Later she experienced to the full the revulsion of thought and experience which comes when doubt reacts upon youthful credulity. It was the age of the encyclopedia, and now she came to doubt her creed and even God and the soul, but clung to the Gospels as the best possible code of morals, and later realized that while her intellect had wandered her heart had remained constant. At seventeen she was, if not the most beautiful, perhaps the noblest woman in all France, and here the curtain must drop upon her girlhood. All her traits were, of course, set off by the great life she lived and the yet greater death she died.

Gifted people seem to conserve their youth and to be all the more children, and perhaps especially all the more intensely adolescents, because of their gifts, and it is certainly one of the marks of genius that the plasticity and spontaneity of adolescence persists into maturity. Sometimes even its passions, reveries, and hoydenish freaks continue. In her

Histoire de ma vie, it is plain that George Sand inherited at this age an unusual dower of gifts. She composed many and interminable stories, carried on day after day, so that her confidants tried to tease her by asking if the prince had got out of the forest yet, etc. She personated an echo and conversed with it. Her day-dreams and plays were so intense that she often came back from the world of imagination to reality with a shock. She spun a weird zoological romance out of a rustic legend of *la grande bête*.

When her aunt sent her to a convent, she passed a year of rebellion and revolt, and was the leader of *les diables*, or those who refused to be devout, and engaged in all wild pranks. At fifteen she became profoundly interested in the lives of the saints, although ridiculing miracles. She entered one evening the convent church for service, which was an act of disobedience, without permission. The mystery and holy charm of it penetrated her; she forgot everything outward and was left alone, and some mysterious change stole over her. She "breathed an atmosphere of ineffable sweetness" more with the mind than the senses; had a sudden indescribable perturbation; her eyes swam; she was enveloped in a white glimmer, and heard a voice murmur the words written under a convent picture of St. Augustine, *Tolle, lege*, and turned around thinking Mother Alicia spoke, but she was alone. She knew it was an hallucination, but saw that faith had laid hold of her, as she wished, by the heart, and she sobbed and prayed to the unknown God till a nun heard her groaning. At first her ardor impelled her not only to brave the jeers of her madcap club of harum-scarums and tomboys, but she planned to become a nun, until this feverish longing for a recluse life passed but left her changed.¹

When she passed from the simple and Catholic faith of her grissette mother to the atmosphere of her cynical grandmother at Nohant, who was a disciple of Voltaire, she found herself in great straits between the profound sentiments inspired by the first communion and the concurrent contempt for this faith instilled by her grandmother for all these mummeries through which, however, for conventional reasons she was obliged to pass. Her heart was deeply stirred, and yet her head holding all religion to be fiction or metaphor, it occurred to her to invent a story which might be a religion or a religion which might be a story into any degree of belief in which she could lapse at will. The name and the form of her new deity was revealed to her in a dream. He was Corambé, pure as Jesus, beautiful as Gabriel, as graceful as the nymphs and Orpheus, less austere than the Christian God, and as much woman as man, because she could best understand this sex from her love for her mother. He appeared in many aspects

¹ See also Sully: A Girl's Religion. Longmans' Mag., 1890, p. 89.

of physical and moral beauty; was eloquent, master of all arts, and above all of the magic of musical improvisation; loved as a friend and sister, and at the same time revered as a god; not awful and remote from impeccability, but with the fault of excess of indulgence. She estimated that she composed about a thousand sacred books or songs developing phases of his mundane existence. In each of these he became incarnate man on touching the earth, always in a new group of people who were good, yet suffering martyrdoms from the wicked known only by the effects of their malice. In this "gentle hallucination" she could lose herself in the midst of friends and turn to her hero deity for comfort. There must be not only sacred books, but a temple and ritual, and in a garden thicket, which no eye could penetrate, in a moss-carpeted chamber she built an altar against a tree-trunk, ornamented with a wreath hung over it. Instead of sacrificing, which seemed barbaric, she proceeded to restore life and liberty to butterflies, lizards, green frogs, and birds, which she put in a box, laid on the altar, and "after having invoked the good genius of liberty and protection," opened it. In these mimic rites and delicious reveries she found the germs of a religion that fitted her heart. From the instant, however, that a boy playmate discovered and entered this sanctuary, "Corambé ceased to dwell in it. The dryads and the cherubim deserted it," and it seemed unreal. The temple was destroyed with great care, and the garlands and shells were buried under the tree.¹

Adeline, Countess Schimmelmänn,² was born in 1854 in a Danish castle. Her education was very careful; her character strong and early developed. As a girl of ten she was fond of climbing trees, bathing, fishing, and rowing; was early impressed by Schnorr's great Bible pictures, by the death of her grandmother, and especially by a horrible murder of his whole family by a desperate man, who denied his guilt, and

¹ Sheldon (Institutional Activities of American Children; *Am. Jour. of Psychol.*, vol. ix, p. 434) describes a faintly analogous case of a girl of eleven, who organized the worship of Pallas Athena on two flat rocks, in a deep ravine by a stream where a young sycamore grew from an old stump, as did Pallas from the head of her father Zeus. There was a court consisting of king, queen and subjects, and priests who officiated at sacrifices. The king and queen wore goldenrod upon their heads and waded in streams attended by their subjects; gathered flowers for Athena; caught crayfish which were duly smashed upon her altar. "Sometimes there was a special celebration, when, in addition to the slaughtered crayfish and beautiful flower decorations, and pickles stolen from the dinner-table, there would be an elaborate ceremony," which because of its uncanny acts was intensely disliked by the people at hand.

² *Glimpses of My Life*. New York, 1896, p. 210.

for whom she prayed daily. Just before his execution he confessed his guilt and experienced religion, all, as she felt, in answer to her prayers. She grew profoundly religious, although such topics were carefully avoided in her family. At fifteen she was confirmed, and her whole religious nature very greatly deepened, but she entered the gay life of her home and soon was presented at court, and for eighteen years was maid of honor to the German Empress Augusta, by whose character she was greatly impressed.¹

Louisa Alcott's romantic period opened at fifteen, when she began to write poetry, keep a heart journal, and wander by moonlight, and wished to be the Bettine of Emerson,

¹ Her subsequent life was entirely dominated by momentum of this period, and her eccentricities were only its persistence into maturity. By the death of her father, she became possessed of a considerable fortune and then resolved to devote herself to the work of charity, beginning among the wild and abandoned sailors and fishermen of the Pomeranian shore. She adopted two boys of low birth, one of them nearly idiotic, who followed her wherever she went, and on whom she lavished great care and attention. She built and personally conducted a seaman's home at Goehren, often cooking and furnishing food for body and soul. Her piety was so extreme and her charity so great, that her relatives, failing to abate them, had her sequestered in an insane asylum, where she remained for some months amid great hardships and indignities before her sanity was entirely vindicated, when she returned to her good works in Berlin among the lowest classes, where her life was several times in extreme danger. She had a great desire to save one soul for each of the magnificent diamonds in a necklace which she possessed. The wider field of her mission for which she is still laboring and collecting money is the fishermen of the Baltic, the sailors of all nations in European ports, and the distressed and troubled elements of society everywhere. Efforts were made to prove her an anarchist, but these, too, were abortive. She imagines a future brotherhood of the sea reared by pious bequests. Failing in the primal sensations of wife and mother and needing an atmosphere of warmth, with an overflowing good heart and a sound head, disdaining the soft life of a great lady, she determined to love Jesus and devote herself to his work. In this she was sustained by her friend, the good pastor Funcke. As sovereign over her fishermen, their worship and admiration were better to her than a satin bed. She was able to forbid them whisky. During the dreadful winter of 1891-92 in Berlin, she penetrated into an insurgent mob of laborers the police dared not approach, at the peril of her life; distributed money; prayed inwardly, and then preached Jesus; sang hymns; sold her country house to buy a supply yacht from which to distribute provisions and Bibles in the North Sea; sought to break the monopolies that ground the fishermen; in one year visited five hundred vessels and distributed twenty thousand Bibles and other religious books. Her work has been chiefly with rough men. She loves the masculine element and evokes the healthful chivalry of men, and does all in the service of "My Jesus." Her work may not be permanent, but it is beneficent.

in whose library she foraged; wrote him letters which were never sent; sat in a tall tree at midnight; left wild flowers on the doorstep of her master; sang Mignon's song under his window; and was refined by her choice of an idol. Her diary was all about herself.

If she looked in the glass at her long hair and well-shaped head, she tried to keep down her vanity; her quick tongue, moodiness, poverty, impossible longings, made every day a battle until she hardly wished to live, only something must be done, and waiting is so hard. She imagined her mind a room in confusion which must be put in order; the useless thought swept out; foolish fancies dusted away; newly furnished with good resolutions. But she was not a good housekeeper; cobwebs got in, and it was hard to rule. She was smitten with a mania for the stage, and spent most of her leisure in writing and acting plays of melodramatic style and high-strung sentiment, improbable incidents, with no touch of common life or sense of humor, full of concealments and surprises, bright dialogues, and lofty sentiments. She had much dramatic power and loved to transform herself into Hamlet and declaim in mock heroic style. From sixteen to twenty-three was her apprenticeship to life. She taught, wrote for the papers, did housework for pay as a servant, and found sewing a pleasant resource because it was tranquillizing, left her free, and set her thoughts going.

Mrs. Burnett,¹ like most women who record their childhood and adolescent memories, is far more subjective and interesting than most men. In early adolescence she was never alone when with flowers, but loved to "speak to them, to bend down and say caressing things, to stoop and kiss them, to praise them for their pretty ways of looking up at her as into the eyes of a friend and beloved. There were certain little blue violets which always seemed to lift their small faces childishly, as if they were saying, 'Kiss me; don't go by like that.'" She would sit on the porch, elbows on knees and chin on hands, staring upward, sometimes lying on the grass. Heaven was so high and yet she was a part of it and was something even among the stars. It was a weird, updrawn, overwhelming feeling as she stared so fixedly and intently that the earth seemed gone, left far behind. Every hour and moment was a wonderful and beautiful thing. She felt on speaking terms with the rabbits. Something was happening in the leaves which waved and rustled as she passed. Just to walk, sit, lie around out of doors, to loiter, gaze, watch with a heart fresh as a young dryad, following birds, playing hide-and-seek with the brook—these were her halcyon hours.

With the instability of genius, Beth² did everything suddenly.

¹ The One I Know Best of All. A Memory of the Mind of a Child. By Frances Hodgson Burnett. New York, 1893.

² The Beth Book.

When twelve or thirteen she had grown too big to be carried, pulled, or pushed; she suddenly stood still one day, when her mother commanded her to dress. She had been ruled before by physical force, but her will and that of her mother were now in collision, and the latter realized she could make her do nothing unless by persuasion or moral influence. Being constantly reproved, scolded, and even beaten by her mother, Beth one day impulsively jumped into the sea and was rescued with difficulty. She had spells of being miserable with no cause. She was well and happy, but would burst into tears suddenly, which seemed often to surprise her. Being very sensitive herself, she was morbidly careful of the feelings of others and incessantly committed grave sins of insincerity without compunction in her effort to spare them. To those who confided in her abilities, praised her, and thought she could do things, her nature expanded, but her mother checked her mental growth over and over, instead of helping her, by saying, "Don't try, you can't do it," etc.

Just before the dawn of adolescence she had passed through a long period of abject superstition largely through the influence of a servant. All the old woman's signs were very dominant in her life. She even invented methods of divination, as, "if the boards do not creak when I walk across the room I shall get through my lessons without trouble." She always preferred to see two rooks together to one, and became expert in the black arts. She used to hear strange noises at night for a time, which seemed signs and portents of disaster at sea, fell into the ways of her neighbors, and had more faith in incantations than in doctors' doses. She not only heard voices and very ingeniously described them, but claimed to know what was going to happen and compared her forebodings with the maid. She "got religion" very intensely under the influence of her aunt, grew poor, lost her appetite and sleep, had heartache to think of her friends burning in hell, and tried to save them.

Beth never thought at all of her personal appearance until she overheard a gentleman call her rather nice-looking, when her face flushed and she had a new feeling of surprise and pleasure, and took very clever ways of cross-examining her friends to find if she was handsome. All of a sudden the care of her person became of great importance, and every hint she had heard of was acted on. She aired her bed, brushed her hair glossy, pinched her waist and feet, washed in buttermilk, used a parasol, tortured her natural appetite in every way, put on gloves to do dirty work, etc.

The house always irked her. Once stealing out of the school by night, she was free, stretched herself, drew a long breath, bounded and waved her arms in an ecstasy of liberty, danced around the magnolia, buried her face in the big flowers one after another and bathed it in the dew of the petals, visited every forbidden place, was particularly attracted to the water, enjoyed scratching and making her feet bleed and eating a lot of green fruit. This liberty was most precious, and all through a hot summer she kept herself healthy by

exercise in the moonlight. This revived her appetite, and she ended these night excursions by a forage in the kitchen. Beth had times when she hungered for solitude and for nature. Sometimes she would shut herself in her room, but more often would rove the fields and woods in ecstasy. Coming home from school, where she had long been, she had to greet the trees and fields almost before she did her parents. She had a great habit of stealing out often by the most dangerous routes over roofs, etc., at night in the moonlight, running and jumping, waving her arms, throwing herself on the ground, rolling over, walking on all-fours, turning somersaults, hugging trees, playing hide-and-seek with the shadow fairy-folk, now playing and feeling fear and running away. She invoked trees, stars, etc.

Beth's first love affair was with a bright, fair-haired, fat-faced boy, who sat near her pew Sundays. They looked at each other once during service, and she felt a glad glow in her chest spread over her, dwelt on his image, smiled, and even the next day felt a new desire to please. She watched for him to pass from school. When he appeared, "had a most delightful thrill shoot through her." The first impulse to fly was conquered; she never thought a boy beautiful before. They often met after dark, wrote; finally she grew tired of him because she could not make him feel deeply, sent him off, called him an idiot, and then soliloquized on the "most dreadful grief of her life." The latter stages of their acquaintance she occasionally used to beat him, but his attraction steadily waned. Once later, as she was suffering from a dull, irresolute feeling due to want of a companion and an object, she met a boy of seventeen, whose face, like her own, brightened as they approached. It was the first appearance of nature's mandate to mate. This friendly glance suffused her whole being with the "glory and vision of love." Religion and young men were her need. They had stolen interviews by night and many an innocent embrace and kiss, and almost died once by being caught. They planned in detail what they would do after they were married, but all was taken for granted without formal vows. Only when criticized did they ever dream of caution and concealment, and then they made elaborate parades of ignoring each other in public and fired their imaginations with thoughts of disguises, masks, etc. This passion was nipped in the bud by the boy's removal from his school.

In preparing for her first communion, an anonymous writer¹ became sober and studious, proposing to model her life on that of each fresh saint and to spend a week in retreat examining her conscience with a vengeance. She wanted to revive the custom of public confession and wrote letters of penitence and submission, which she tore up later, finding her mind not "all of a piece." She lay prostrate on her prie-dieu weeping from ecstasy, lying on the rim of heaven held by angels, wanting to die, now bathed in bliss or aching intolerably with spiritual joy, but she was only twelve and her old nature often

¹ Autobiography of a Child. London, 1899, p. 255.

reasserted itself. Religion at that time became an intense emotion nourished on incense, music, tapers, and a feeling of being tangible. It was rapturous and sensuous. While under its spell, she seemed to float and touch the wings of angels. Here solemn Gregorian chants are sung, so that when one comes back to earth there is a sense of hunger, deception, and self-loathing. Now she came to understand how so many sentimental and virtuous souls sought oblivion in the narcotic of religious excitement. Here at the age of twelve youth began and childhood ended with her book.

Pathetic is the account of Helen Keller's effort to understand the meaning of the word love in its season.¹

Is it the sweetness of flowers? she asked. No, said her teacher. Is it the warm sun? Not exactly. It can not be touched, "but you feel the sweetness that it pours into everything. Without love, you would not be happy or want to play. The beautiful truth burst upon my mind. I felt that there were invisible lines stretched between my spirit and the spirit of others." This period seems to have come gradually and naturally to this wonderful child, whose life has been perhaps the purest ever lived and one of the sweetest. None has ever loved every aspect of nature accessible to her more passionately, or felt more keenly the charm of nature or of beautiful sentiments. The unhappy Frost King episode has been almost the only cloud upon her life, which unfortunately came at about the dawn of this period, that is perhaps better marked by the great expansion of mind which she experienced at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, when she was thirteen. About this time, too, her great ambition of going to college and enjoying all the advantages that other girls did, which, considering her handicap, was one of the greatest human resolutions, was strengthened and deepened. The fresh, spontaneous, and exquisite reactions of this pellucid mind, which felt that each could comprehend all the experiences and emotions of the race and that chafes at every pedagogical and technical obstacle between her soul and nature, and the great monuments of literature, show that she has conserved to a remarkable degree, which the world will wish may be permanent, the best impulses of this golden age.

Marie Bashkirtseff,² who may be taken as one of the best types of exaggerated adolescent confessionalists, was of rich and noble birth, and began in 1873, at the age of twelve, to write a journal that should be absolutely true and frank, with no pretense, affectation, or concealment. The journal continues until

¹ *The Story of My Life*. By Helen Keller. New York, 1903, p. 30.

² *Journal of a Young Artist*. New York, 1889, p. 434.

her death, October, 1884, at the age of twenty-three. It may be described as in some sense a feminine counterpart of Rousseau's confessions, but is in some respects a more precious psychological document than any other for the elucidation of the adolescent ferment in an unusually vigorous and gifted soul. Twice I have read it from cover to cover and with growing interest.

At twelve she is passionately in love with a duke, whom she sometimes saw pass but who had no knowledge of her existence, and builds many air castles about his throwing himself at her feet and of their life together. She prays passionately to see him again, would dazzle him on the stage, would lead a perfect life, develop her voice, and would be an ideal wife. She agonizes before the glass on whether or not she is pretty, and resolves to ask some young man, but prefers to think well of herself even if it is an illusion; constantly modulates over into passionate prayer to God to grant all her wishes; is oppressed with despair; gay and melancholy by turn; believes in God because she prayed Him for a set of croquet and to help her to learn English, both of which He granted. At church some prayers and services seem directly aimed at her; Paris now seems a frightful desert, and she has no motive to avoid carelessness in her appearance. She has freaky and very changeable ideas of arranging the things in her room. When she hears of the duke's marriage she almost throws herself over a bridge, prays God for pardon of her sins, and thinks all is ended; finds it horrible to dissemble her feelings in public; goes through the torture of altering her prayer about the duke. She is disgusted with common people, harrowed by jealousy, envy, deceit, and every hideous feeling, yet feels herself frozen in the depth, and moving only on the surface. When her voice improves she welcomes it with tears and feels an all-powerful queen. The man she loves should never speak to another. Her journal she resolves to make the most instructive book that ever was or ever will be written. She esteems herself so great a treasure that no one is worthy of her; pities those who think they can please her; thinks herself a real divinity; prays to the moon to show her in dreams her future husband, and quarrels with her photographs.

In some moods she feels herself beautiful, knows she shall succeed, everything smiles upon her and she is absolutely happy, and yet in the next paragraph the fever of life at high pressure palls upon her and things seem asleep and unreal. Her attempts to express her feelings drive her to desperation because words are inadequate. She loves to weep, gives up to despair, to think of death, and finds everything transcendently exquisite. She comes to despise men and wonder whether the good are always stupid and the intelligent always false and saturated with baseness, but on the whole believes that some time or other

she is destined to meet one true, good, and great man. Now she is inflated with pride of her ancestry, her gifts, and would subordinate everybody and everything; she would never speak a commonplace word, and then again feels that her life has been a failure and she is destined to be always waiting. She falls on her knees sobbing, praying to God with outstretched hands as if He were in her room; almost vows to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem one-tenth of the way on foot; to devote her money to good works; lacks the pleasures proper to her age; wonders if she can ever love again. On throwing a bouquet from a window into a crowd in the Corso, a young man choked so beautifully a workman who caught it that by that one act of strangling and snatching the bouquet she fell in love. The young man calls and they see each other often. Now she is clad from head to foot in an armor of cold politeness, now vanity and now passion seem uppermost in their meetings. She wonders if a certain amount of sin, like air, is necessary to a man to sustain life. Finally they vow mutual love and Pietro leaves, and she begins to fear that she has cherished illusions or been insulted; is tormented at things unsaid or of her spelling in French. She coughs and for three days has a new idea that she is going to die; prays and prostrates herself sixty times, one for each bead in her rosary, touching the floor with her forehead every time; wonders if God takes intentions into account; resolves to read the New Testament, but can not find one and reads Dumas instead. In novel-reading she imagines herself the heroine of every scene; sees her lover and they plan their mode of life together and at last kiss each other, but later she feels humiliated, chilled, doubts if it is real love; studies the color of her lips to see if they have changed; fears that she has compromised herself; has eye symptoms that make her fear blindness. Once on reading the Testament she smiled and clasped her hands, gazed upward, was no longer herself but in ecstasy; she makes many programs for life; is haunted by the phrase "we live but once"; wants to live a dozen lives in one, but feels that she does not live one-fourth of a life; has several spells of solitary illumination. At other times she wishes to be the center of a salon and imagines herself to be so. She soars on poets' wings, but often has hell in her heart; slowly love is vowed henceforth to be a word without meaning to her. Although she suffers from *ennui*, she realizes that women live only from sixteen to forty and can not bear the thought of losing a moment of her life; criticizes her mother; scorns marriage and child-bearing, which any washerwoman can attain, but pants for glory; now hates, now longs to see new faces; thinks of disguising herself as a poor girl and going out to seek her fortunes; thinks her mad vanity is her devil; that her ambitions are justified by no results; hates moderation in anything; would have intense and constant excitement or absolute repose; at fifteen abandons her idea of the duke but wants an idol, and finally decides to live for fame; studies her shoulders, hips, bust, to gauge her success in life; tries target-shooting, hits every time and feels

it to be fateful; at times despises her mother because she is so easily influenced by her; meets another man whose affection for her she thinks might be as reverent as religion and who never profaned the purity of his life by a thought, but finally drops him because the possible disappointment would be unbearable; finds that the more unhappy any one is for love of us the happier we are; wonders why she has weeping spells; wonders what love that people talk so much about really is, and whether she is ever to know. One night, at the age of seventeen, she has a fit of despair, which vents itself in moans until arising, she seizes the dining-room clock, rushes out and throws it into the sea, when she becomes happy. "Poor clock!"

At another time she fears she has used the word love lightly and resolves to no longer invoke God's help, yet in the next line prays Him to let her die as everything is against her, her thoughts are incoherent, she hates herself and everything is contemptible; but she wishes to die peacefully while some one is singing a beautiful air of Verdi. Again she thinks of shaving her head to save the trouble of arranging her hair; is crazed to think that every moment brings her nearer death; to waste a moment of life is infamous, yet she can trust no one; all the freshness of life is gone; few things affect her now; she wonders how in the past she could have acted so foolishly and reasoned so wisely; is proud that no advice in the world could ever keep her from doing anything she wished. She thinks the journal of her former years exaggerated and resolves to be moderate; wants to make others feel as she feels; finds that the only cure for disenchantment with life is devotion to work; fears her face is wearing an anxious look instead of the confident expression which was its chief charm. Impossible is a hideous, maddening word; to think of dying like a dog as most people do and leaving nothing behind is a granite wall against which she every instant dashes her head. If she loved a man, every expression of admiration for anything or anybody else in her presence would be a profanation. Now she thinks the man she loves must never know what it is to be in want of money and must purchase everything he wishes; must weep to see a woman want for anything, and find the door of no palace or club barred to him. Art becomes a great shining light in her life of few pleasures and many griefs, yet she dares hope for nothing.

At eighteen all her caprices are exhausted; she vows and prays in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for her wishes. She would like to be a millionaire, get back her voice, obtain the *prix de Rome* under the guise of a man and marry Napoleon IV. On winning a medal for her pictures she does nothing but laugh, cry, and dream of greatness, but the next day is scolded and grows discouraged. She has an immense sense of growth and transformation, so that not a trace of her old nature remains; feels that she has far too much of some things and far too little of others in her nature; sees defects in her mother's character, whose pertinacity is like a disease; realizes that one of her chief passions is to inspire rather than to feel

love; that her temper is profoundly affected by her dress; deplores that her family expect her to achieve greatness rather than give her the stimulus of expecting nothing; declares that she thinks a million thoughts for every word that she writes; is disgusted with and sometimes absolutely hates herself. At one time she coquets with Kant, and wonders if he is right that all things exist only in the imagination; has a passion for such "abracadabrante follies" that seem so learned and logical, but is grieved to feel them to be false; longs to penetrate the intellectual world, to see, learn, and know everything; admires Balzac because he describes so frankly all that he has felt; loves Fleury, who has shown her a wider horizon; still has spells of admiring her dazzling complexion and deploring that she can not go out alone; feels that she is losing her grip on art and also on God, who no longer hears her prayers, and resolves to kill herself if she is not famous at thirty.

At nineteen, and even before, she has spells of feeling inefficient, cries, calls on God, feels exhausted; is almost stunned when she hears that the young French prince about whom she has spun romances was killed by the Kaffirs; feels herself growing serious and sensible; despises death; realizes that God is not what she thought, but is perhaps Nature and Life or is perhaps Chance; she thinks out possible pictures she might paint; develops a Platonic friendship for her professor; might marry an old man with twenty-seven millions, but spurns the thought; finds herself growing deaf gradually, and at nineteen finds three gray hairs; has awful remorse for days, when she can not work and so loses herself in novels and cigarettes; makes many good resolutions and then commits some folly as if in a dream; has spells of reviewing the past. When the doctor finds a serious lung trouble and commands iodine, cod-liver oil, hot milk and flannel, she at first scorns death and refuses all, and is delighted at the terror of her friends, but gradually does all that is necessary; feels herself too precocious and doomed; deplores especially that consumption will cost her her good looks; has fits of intense anger alternating with tears; concludes that death is annihilation; realizes the horrible thought that she has a skeleton within her that some time or other will come out; reads the New Testament again and returns to belief in miracles and prayer to Jesus and the Virgin; distributes one thousand francs to the poor; records the dreamy delusions that flow through her brain at night and the strange sensations by day. Her eye symptoms cause her to fear blindness again; she grows superstitious, believing in signs and fortune-tellers; is strongly impelled to embrace and make up with her mother; at times defies God and death; sees a Spanish bull-fight and gets from it a general impression of human cowardice, but has a strange intoxication with blood and would like to thrust a lance into the neck of every one she meets; coquets a great deal with the thought of marriage; takes up her art and paints a few very successful pictures; tries to grapple with the terrible question, "What is my un-biased opinion concerning myself?" pants chiefly for fame. When

the other lung is found diseased the diary becomes sometimes more serious, sometimes more fevered; she is almost racked to find some end in life; shall she marry, or paint? and at last finds much consolation in the visits of Bastien-Lepage, who comes to see her often while he is dying of some gastric trouble. She keeps up occasional and often daily entries in her journal until eleven days before her death, occurring in October, 1884, at the age of twenty-three, and precipitated by a cold incurred while making an open-air sketch.

The confessional outpourings of Mary MacLane¹ constitute a unique and valuable adolescent document, despite the fact that it seems throughout affected and written for effect; however, it well illustrates a real type, although perhaps hardly possible save in this country, and was inspired very likely by the preceding.

She announces at the outset that she is odd, a genius, an extreme egotist; has no conscience; despises her father, "Jim MacLane of selfish memory"; loves scrubbing the floor because it gives her strength and grace of body, although her daily life is an "empty damned weariness." She is a female Napoleon passionately desiring fame; is both a philosopher and a coward; her heart is wooden; although but nineteen, she feels forty; desires happiness even more than fame, for an hour of which she would give up at once fame, money, power, virtue, honor, truth, and genius to the devil, whose coming she awaits. She discusses her portrait, which constitutes the frontispiece; is glad of her good strong body, and still awaits in a wild, frenzied impatience the coming of the devil to take her sacrifice, and to whom she would dedicate her life. She loves but one in all the world, an older "anemone" lady, once her teacher. She can not distinguish between right and wrong; love is the only thing real which will some day bring joy, but it is agony to wait. "Oh, damn! damn! damn! damn! every living thing in the world!—the universe be damned!" herself included. She is "marvelously deep," but thanks the good devil who has made her without conscience and virtue so that she may take her happiness when it comes. Her soul seeks but blindly, for nothing answers. How her happiness will seethe, quiver, writhe, shine, dance, rush, surge, rage, blare, and wreak with love and light when it comes!

The devil she thinks fascinating and strong, with a will of steel, in conventional clothes, whom she periodically falls in love with and would marry, and would love to be tortured by him. She holds imaginary conversations with him. If happiness does not come soon she will commit suicide, and she finds rapture in the thought of death. In Butte, Montana, where she lives, she wanders among the box rustlers, the beer jerkers, biscuit shooters, and plunges out into the sand and

¹ The Story of Mary MacLane. By herself. Chicago, 1902, p. 322.

barrenness, but finds everything dumb. The six tooth-brushes in the bathroom make her wild and profane. She flirts with death at the top of a dark, deep pit, and thinks out the stages of decomposition if she yielded herself to Death, who would dearly love to have her. She confesses herself a thief on several occasions, but comforts herself because it was given to the poor. Sometimes her "very good legs" carry her out into the country, where she has imaginary love confabs with the devil, but the world is so empty, dreary, and cold, and it is all so hard to bear when one is a woman and nineteen. She has a litany from which she prays in recurrent phrases, "Kind devil, deliver me"—as, e. g., from musk, boys with curls, feminine men, wobbly hips, red note-paper, codfish-balls, lisle-thread stockings, the books of A. C. Gunter and Albert Ross, wax flowers, from soft old bachelors and widowers, from nice young men, tin spoons, false teeth, thin shoes, etc. She does not seem real to herself, everything is a blank. Though she doubts everything else, she will keep the one atom of faith in love and the truth that is love and life in her heart. When something shrieks within her, she feels that all her anguish is for nothing and that she is a fool. She is exasperated that people call her peculiar, but confesses that she loves admiration; she can fascinate and charm company if she tries; imagines an admiration for Messalina. She most desires to cultivate badness when there is lead in the sky. "I would live about seven years of judicious badness, and then death if you will." "I long to cultivate the element of badness in me." She describes the fascination of making and eating fudge; devotes a chapter to describing how to eat an olive; discusses her figure. "In the front of my shirt-waist there are nine cambric handkerchiefs cunningly distributed." She discusses her foot, her beautiful hair, her hips; describes each of the seventeen little engraved portraits of Napoleon that she keeps, with each of which she falls in love; vows she would give up even her marvelous genius for one dear, bright day free from loneliness. When her skirts need sewing, she simply pins them; this lasts longer, and had she mended them with needle and thread she would have been sensible, which she hates. As she walks over the sand one day she vows that she would like a man to come so be that he was strong and a perfect villain, and she would pray him to lead her to what the world calls her ruin. Nothing is of consequence to her except to be rid of unrest and pain. She would be positively and not merely negatively wicked. To poison her soul would rouse her mental power. "Oh, to know just once what it is to be loved!" "I know that I am a genius more than any genius that has lived," yet she often thinks herself a small vile creature for whom no one cares. The world is ineffably dull, heaven has always fooled her, and she is starving for love.

Ada Negri illustrates the other extreme of genuineness and is desperately in earnest.¹ She began to teach school in a squalid, dismal

¹ Fate. Tr. by A. M. Von Blomberg, Boston, 1898.

Italian village, and to write the poetry at eighteen that has made her famous. She lived in a dim room back of a stable, up two flights, where the windows were not glass but paper, and where she seems to have been, like her mother, a mill hand before she was a teacher. She had never seen a theater, but had read of Duse with enthusiasm; had never seen the sea, mountains, or even a hill, lake, or large city, but she had read of them. After she began to write, friends gave her two dream days in the city. Then she returned, put on her wooden shoes, and began to teach her eighty children how to spell. The poetry she writes is from the very heart of her own experience.

She craved "the kiss of genius and of light," but the awful figure of misfortune with its dagger stood by her bed at night. She writes:

"I have no name—my home a hovel damp;
I grew up from the mire;
Wretched and outcast folk my family,
And yet within me burns a flame of fire."

There is always a praying angel and an evil dwarf on either side. The black abyss attracts her, yet she is softened by a child's caress. She laughs at the blackest calamities that threaten her, but weeps over thin, wan children without bread. Her whole life goes into song. The boy criminal on the street fascinates her and she would kiss him. She writes of jealousy as a ghost of vengeance. If death comes, she fears "that the haggard doctor will dissect my naked corpse," and pictures herself dying on the operating-table like a stray dog, and her well-made body "disgraced by the lustful kiss of the too eager blade" as, "with sinister smile untiring, they tear my bowels out and still gloat over my sold corpse, go on to bare my bones and veins at will, wrench out my heart," probe vainly for the secrets of hunger and the mystery of pain, until from her "dead breast gurgles a gasp of malediction." Much of her verse is imprecation. "A crimson rain of crying blood dripping from riddled chests" of those slain for liberty falls on her heart; the sultry factories where "monsters of steel, huge engines, snort all day," and where the pungent air poisons the blood of the pale weaver girls; the fate of the mason who fell from a high roof and struck the stone flagging, whose funeral she attends, all inspire her to sing occasionally the songs of enfranchised labor. Misery as a drear, toothless ghost visits her, as when gloomy pinions had overspread her dying mother's bed, to wrench with sharp nails all the hope from her breast with which she had defied it. A wretched old man on the street inspires her to sing of what she imagines is his happy though humble prime. There is the song of the pickaxe brandished in revolution when mobs cry "Peace, labor, bread," and in mines of industry beneath the earth. She loves the "defeated" in whose house no fire glows, who live in caves and dens, and writes of the mutilation of a woman in the factory machinery. At eighteen years "a loom, two handsome eyes that know no tears, a cotton dress,

a love, belong to me." She is inspired by a master of the forge beating a red-hot bar, with his bare neck swelled. He is her demon, her God, and her pride in him is ecstasy. She describes jealousy of two rival women, so intense that they fight and bite, and the pure joy of a guileless, intoxicating, life-begetting first kiss. She longs for infinite stretches of hot, golden sand, over which she would gallop wildly on her steed; anticipates an old age of cap and spectacles; revels in the hurricane, and would rise in and fly and whirl with it adrift far out in the immensity of space. She tells us "of genius and light I'm a blithe millionaire," and elsewhere she longs for the everlasting ice of lofty mountains, the immortal silence of the Alps; sings of her "sad twenty years," "how all, all goes when love is gone and spent." She imagines herself springing into the water which closes over her, while her naked soul, ghostly pale, whirls past through the lonely dale. She imprecates the licentious world of crafty burghers, coquettes, gamblers, well-fed millionaires, cursed geese and serpents that make the cowardly vile world, and whom she would smite in the face with her indignant verse. "Thou crawlest and I soar." She chants the champions of the spade, hammer, pick, though they are ground and bowed with toil, disfigured within, with furrowed brows. She pants for war with outrage and with wrong; questions the abyss for its secret; hears moans and flying shudders; and sees phantoms springing from putrid tombs. The full moon is an old malicious spy, peeping stealthily with evil eye. She is a bird caught in a cursed cage, and prays some one to unlock the door and give her space and light, and let her soar away in ecstasy and glory. Nothing less than infinite space will satisfy her. Even the tempest, the demon, or a malevolent spirit might bear her away on unbridled wings. In one poem she apostrophizes Marie Bashkirtseff as warring with vast genius against unknown powers, but who now is in her coffin among worms, her skull grinning and showing its teeth. She would be possessed by her and thrilled as by an electric current. A dwarf beggar wrings her heart with pity, but she will not be overwhelmed. Though a daring peasant, she will be free and sing out her pæan to the sun, though amid the infernal glow of furnaces, forges, and the ringing noise of hammers and wheels.

VI. Literary men who record their experiences during this stage seem to differ from women in several important respects. First, they write with less abandon. I can recall no male MacLanes. A Bashkirtseff would be less impossible, and a Negri with social reform in her heart is still less so. But men are more prone to characterize their public metamorphoses later in life, when they are a little paled, and perhaps feel less need of confessionalism for that reason. It would, however, be too hazardous to elaborate this distinction too far. Secondly and

more clearly, men tend to vent their ephebic calentures more in the field of action. They would break the old moorings of home and strike out new careers, or vent their souls in efforts and dreams of reconstructing the political, industrial, or social world. Their impracticalibilities are more often in the field of practical life and remoter from their own immediate surroundings. This is especially true in our practical country, which so far lacks subjective characterizations of this age of eminent literary merit, peculiarly intense as it is here. Thirdly, they erupt in a greater variety of ways, and the many kinds of genius and talent that now often take possession of their lives like fate are more varied and individual. This affords many extreme contrasts, as, e. g., between Trollope's pity for, and Goethe's apotheosis of his youth; Mill's loss of feeling, and Jeffries's unanalytic, passionate outbursts of sentiment; the esthetic ritualism of Symonds, and the progressive religious emancipation of Fielding; the moral and religious supersensitiveness of Oliphant, who was a reincarnation of medieval monkhood, and the riotous storminess of Müller and Ebers; the abnormalities and precocity of De Quincey, and the steady, healthful growth of Patterson; the simultaneity of a fleshly and spiritual love in Keller and Goethe, and the duality of Pater, with his great and tyrannical intensification of sensation for nature and the sequent mysticity and symbolism. In some it is fulminating but episodic, in others gradual and lifelong like the advent of eternal spring. Fourth, in their subjective states women outgrow less in their consciousness, and men depart farther from their youth, in more manifold ways. Lastly, in its religious aspects, the male struggles more with dogma, and his enfranchisement from it is more intellectually belabored. Yet, despite all these differences, the analogies between the sexes are probably yet more numerous, more all-pervasive. All these biographic facts reveal nothing not found in *questionnaire* returns from more ordinary youth, so that for our purposes they are only the latter, writ large because superior minds only utter what all more inwardly feel. The arrangement by nationality which follows gives no yet adequate basis for inference unless it be the above American peculiarity.

In his autobiography from 1785-1803, De Quincey¹ re-

¹ Confessions. Part I. Introductory Narrative.

membered feeling that life was finished and blighted for him at the age of six, up to which time the influence of his sister three years older had brooded over him.

His first remembrance, however, is of a dream of terrific grandeur before he was two, which seemed to indicate that his dream tendencies were constitutional and not due to morphine, but the chill was upon the first glimpse that this was a world of evil. He had been brought up in great seclusion from all knowledge of poverty and oppression in a silent garden with three sisters, but the rumor that a female servant had treated one of them rudely just before her death plunged him into early pessimism. He felt that little Jane would come back certainly in the spring with the roses, and he was glad that his utter misery with the blank anarchy and confusion it brought could not be completely remembered. He stole into the chamber where her corpse lay, and as he stood, a solemn wind, the saddest he ever heard, that might have swept the fields of mortality for a thousand centuries, blew, and that same hollow Memnonian wind he often had heard since, and it brought back the open summer window and the corpse. A vault above opened into the sky, and he slept and dreamed there, standing by her, he knew not how long; a worm that could not die was at his heart, for this was the holy love between children that could not perish. The funeral was full of darkness and despair for him, and after it he sought solitude, gazed into the heavens to see his sister till he was tired, and realized that he was alone. Thus, before the end of his sixth year, with a mind already adolescent, although with a retarded body, the minor tone of life became dominant and his awakening to it was hard.

As a penniless schoolboy wandering the streets of London at night, he was on familiar and friendly terms of innocent relationship with a number of outcast women. In his misery they were to him simply sisters in calamity, but he found in them humanity, disinterested generosity, courage, and fidelity. One night, after he had walked the streets for weeks with one of these friendless girls who had not completed her sixteenth year, as they sat on the steps of a house, he grew very ill, and had she not rushed to buy from her slender purse cordials and tenderly ministered to and revived him, he would have died. Many years later he used to wander past this house, and he recalled with real tenderness this youthful friendship; he longed again to meet the "noble-minded Ann ——" with whom he had so often conversed familiarly "more Socratico," whose betrayer he had vainly sought to punish, and yearned to hear from her to convey to her some authentic message of gratitude, peace, and forgiveness.

His much older brother came home in his thirty-ninth year to die. He had been unmanageable in youth and his genius for mischief was an inspiration, yet he was hostile to everything pusillanimous, haughty, aspiring, ready to fasten a quarrel on his shadow for running before,

at first inclined to reduce his boy brother to a fag, but finally before his death became a great influence in his life. Prominent were the fights between De Quincey and another older brother on the one hand and the factory crowd of boys on the other, a fight incessantly renewed at the close of factory hours, with victory now on one and now on the other side; fought with stones and sticks, where thrice he was taken prisoner, where once one of the factory women kissed him, to the great delight of his heart. He finally invented a kingdom like Hartley Coleridge, called Gom Broon. He thought first that it had no location, but finally because his brother's imaginary realm was north and he wanted wide waters between them, his was in the far south. It was only two hundred and seventy miles in circuit, and he was stunned to be told by his brother one day that his own domain swept south for eighty degrees, so that the distance he had relied on vanished. Here, however, he continued to rule for well or ill, raising taxes, keeping an imaginary standing army, fishing herring and selling the product of his fishery for manure, and experiencing how "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." He worried over his obligations to Gom Broon, and the shadow froze into reality, and although his brother's kingdom Tigrosylvania was larger, his was distinguished for eminent men and a history not to be ashamed of. A friend had read Lord Monboddos view that men had sprung from apes, and suggested that the inhabitants of Gom Broon had tails, so that the brother told him that his subjects had not emerged from apedom and he must invent arts to eliminate the tails. They must be made to sit down for six hours a day as a beginning. Abdicate he would not, though all his subjects had three tails apiece. They had suffered together. Vain was his brother's suggestion that they have a Roman toga to conceal their ignominious appendages. He was greatly interested in two scrofulous idiots, who finally died, and feared that his subjects were akin to them.

John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography* presents one of the most remarkable modifications of the later phases of adolescent experience. No boy ever had more diligent and earnest training than his father gave him or responded better. He can not remember when he began to learn Greek, but was told that it was at the age of three. The list of classical authors alone that he read in the original, to say nothing of history, political, scientific, logical, and other works before he was twelve, is perhaps unprecedented in all history. He associated with his father and all his many friends on their own level, but modestly ascribes everything to his environment, insists that in natural gifts he is rather below than above par, and declares that everything he did could be done by every boy of average capac-

ity and healthy physical constitution. His father made the Greek virtue of temperance or moderation cardinal, and thought human life "a poor thing at best after the freshness of youth and unsatisfied curiosity had gone by." He scorned "the intense" and had only contempt for strong emotion.

In his teens Mill was an able debater and writer for the quarterlies, and devoted to the propagation of the theories of Bentham, Ricardo, and associationism. From the age of fifteen he had an object in life, viz., to reform the world. This gave him happiness, deep, permanent, and assured for the future, and the idea of struggling to promote utilitarianism seemed an inspiring program for life. But in the autumn of 1826, when he was twenty years of age, he fell into "a dull state of nerves," where he could no longer enjoy, and what had produced pleasure seemed insipid; "the state, I should think, in which converts to Methodism usually are when smitten by their first 'conviction of sin.'" In this frame of mind it occurred to me to put the question directly to myself: 'Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant; would this be a great joy and happiness to you?' And an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, 'No.' At this my heart sank within me: the whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down. All my happiness was to have been found in the continual pursuit of this end. The end had ceased to charm, and how could there ever again be any interest in the means? I seemed to have nothing left to live for. At first I hoped that the cloud would pass away of itself, but it did not. A night's sleep, the sovereign remedy for the smaller vexations of life, had no effect on it. I awoke to a renewed consciousness of the woful fact. I carried it with me into all companies, into all occupations. Hardly anything had power to cause me even a few minutes' oblivion of it. For some months the cloud seemed to grow thicker and thicker. The lines in Coleridge's *Dejection*—I was not then acquainted with them—exactly described my case:

"A grief without a pang, void, dark and drear,
A drowsy, stifled, unimpassioned grief,
Which finds no natural outlet or relief
In word, or sigh, or tear."

"In vain I sought relief from my favorite books, those memorials of past nobleness and greatness from which I had always hitherto drawn strength and animation. I read them now without feeling, or with the accustomed feeling minus all its charm; and I became persuaded that my love of mankind, and of excellence for its own sake, had worn itself out. I sought no comfort by speaking to others of

what I felt. If I had loved any one sufficiently to make confiding my griefs a necessity, I should not have been in the condition I was. I felt, too, that mine was not an interesting or in any way respectable distress. There was nothing in it to attract sympathy. Advice, if I had known where to seek it, would have been most precious. The words of Macbeth to the physician often occurred to my thoughts. But there was no one on whom I could build the faintest hope of such assistance. My father, to whom it would have been natural to me to have recourse in any practical difficulties, was the last person to whom, in such a case as this, I looked for help. Everything convinced me that he had no knowledge of any such mental state as I was suffering from, and that even if he could be made to understand it, he was not the physician who could heal it. My education, which was wholly his work, had been conducted without any regard to the possibility of its ending in this result, and I saw no use in giving him the pain of thinking that his plans had failed, when the failure was probably irremediable, and, at all events, beyond the power of his remedies. Of other friends, I had at that time none to whom I had any hope of making my condition intelligible. It was, however, abundantly intelligible to myself, and the more I dwelt upon it the more hopeless it appeared."

He now saw what had hitherto seemed incredible, that the habit of analysis tends to wear away the feelings. He felt "stranded at the commencement of my voyage, with a well-equipped ship and a rudder, but no sail; without any real desire for the ends which I had been so carefully fitted out to work for: no delight in virtue, or the general good, but also just as little in anything else. The fountains of vanity and ambition seemed to have dried up within me as completely as those of benevolence." His vanity had been gratified at too early an age, and, like all premature pleasures, they had caused indifference, until he despaired of creating any fresh association of pleasure with any objects of human desire. Meanwhile, dejected and melancholy as he was through the winter, he went on mechanically with his tasks; thought he found in Coleridge the first description of what he was feeling; feared the idiosyncrasies of his education had made him a being unique and apart. "I asked myself if I could or if I was bound to go on living, when life must be passed in this manner. I generally answered to myself that I did not think I could possibly bear it beyond a year." But within about half that time, in reading a pathetic passage of how a mere boy felt that he could save his family and take the place of all they had lost, a vivid conception of the scene came over him, and he was moved to tears. From that moment his burden grew lighter. He saw that his heart was not dead and that he still had some stuff left of which character and happiness were made; and although there were several later lapses, some of which lasted many months, he was never again as miserable as he had been.

These experiences left him changed in two respects. He had a new theory of life, having much in common with the anti-self-con-

sciousness theory of Carlyle. He still held happiness the end of life, but thought it must be aimed at indirectly and taken incidentally. The other change was that for the first time he gave its proper place to internal culture of the individual, especially the training of the feelings which became now cardinal. He realized and felt the power of poetry and art; was profoundly moved by music; fell in love with Wordsworth and with nature; and his later depressions were best relieved by the power of rural beauty, which wrought its charm not because of itself but by the states and feelings it aroused. His ode on the intimations of immortality showed that he also had felt that the first freshness of youthful joy was not lasting, and had sought and found compensation. He had thus come to a very different standpoint from that of his father, who had up to this time formed his mind and life, and developed on this basis his unique individuality.

Laurence Oliphant¹ was born in 1829. When he was twelve, "with all his faculties and his whole being agog for novelty and incident," he traveled alone from England to the East and had no more systematic education. But his active mind was immensely stimulated by his mother, only eighteen years older than himself. By seventeen he was a confirmed "rolling stone," and he never ceased his roving habits. He remained an adolescent all his life. He was intensely interested by turns in all sorts of political, social, artistic, military, and religious matters, and a citizen of three continents.²

¹ *Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant, his Wife.* By Margaret O. W. Oliphant. 2 vols. New York, 1891.

² In 1867, when he was thirty-eight, already well known as a somewhat Bohemian litterateur, he met a zealot preacher itinerating in England and followed him to America, to the consternation of his friends, to join a community at Brockton or Salem or Erie to "live the life." He was sent to sleep in a loft; to clean a large cattle stable, wheel dirt and rubbish; could speak to no one; and his food was conveyed to him by a silent messenger. The "infernals" were often active and infested many, who were brought to Harris, the leader, who could cast out devils. To bind evil spirits, it was sometimes necessary for victims to be robbed of their sleep. Men were assorted in groups according as their magnetism helped or hindered each other, for all were batteries of unseen force. Families were broken up that love for the race might supplant that for the individual. For three years Oliphant led the life of a hard laborer. He was a teamster and "cadged strawberries" along the railroad, for all must serve a two years' novitiate. His delicate mother, Lady Oliphant, followed her son, and laying aside all the habits of her life, washed, scrubbed, cooked, and cleaned house; but though in the same community, could see her son, in whom her life was bound up and whose every serious thought she shared, only as other members of the community. After three years, in 1870, Oliphant returned and curiously dropped into the same place in society that he had held be-

Jeffries, when eighteen, began his *Story of My Heart*, which he said was an absolutely true confession of the stages of emotion in a soul from which all traces of tradition and learning were erased, and which stood face to face with nature and the unknown.

His heart long seemed dusty and parched for want of feeling, and he frequented a hill, where the pores of his soul opened to a new air. "Lying down on the grass, I spoke in my soul to the earth, the sun, the air, and the distant sea. . . . I desired to have its strength, its mystery and glory. I addressed the sun, desiring the sole equivalent of his light and brilliance, his endurance, and unwearied race. I turned to the blue heaven over, gazing into its depth, inhaling its exquisite color and sweetness. The rich blue of the unobtainable flower of the sky drew my soul toward it, and there it rested, for pure color is the rest of the heart. By all these I prayed. I felt an emotion of the soul beyond all definition; prayer is a puny thing to it." He prayed by the thyme; by the earth; the flowers which he touched; the dust which he let fall through his fingers; was filled with "a rapture, an ecstasy, an inflatus. With this inflatus I prayed. . . . I hid my face in the grass; I was wholly prostrated; I lost myself in the wrestle. . . . I see now that what I labored for was soul life, more soul learning." After gazing upward he would turn his face into the

fore. Still enthusiastic in his admiration of Harris, he urged that men must forsake all for the cross and be drudges and martyrs in the modern sense of the word in order to embody heavenly ideas. Both had found peace and content in this community and its spiritual atmosphere, although he slept on straw over a stable, rose at four to clean and feed horses, and worked till eight to thrash the devil out of him. He still regarded Brockton as the ideal of society. Soon after returning, a little sobered from his first elation, he met in Paris the beautiful and accomplished Alice le Strange, descended from a long line of country gentlefolk. She was a fine musician, full of inexplicable charm, vivacity, and beauty, and had already tasted all the applause of society until, like Edward Irving, she wanted something larger and more authoritative. It was almost love at first sight, and in 1872 they were betrothed, despite the protest of her friends. He infected her with love of his American scheme, and when, after some postponements, they were married, she entered enthusiastically into his plans, and even placed the whole of her property in the hands of Harris. The year 1873 found him with mother and wife back at Brockton under the "father," who separated husband and wife, and finally sent Alice to his new settlement in California. After some wandering on his part, during which he tried to exploit the Dead Sea for its chemical and mineral deposits, if only the Sultan had consented, the husband and wife were reunited. They went to Egypt, then to Palestine, always writing and scheming, and composing one strange book, "*Synpneumata*," in common, till at last, in 1878, she died; her spirit remained with her devoted, adventurous, and visionary husband, who married again in 1888, and died shortly after.

grass, shutting out everything with hands each side, till he felt down into the earth and was absorbed in it, whispering deep down to its center. Every natural impression, trees, insects, air, clouds, he used for prayer, "that my soul might be more than the cosmos of life." His "Lyra" prayer was to live a more exalted and intense soul life; enjoy more bodily pleasure and live long and find power to execute his designs. He often tried, but failed for years to write at least a meager account of these experiences. He felt himself immortal just as he felt beauty. He was in eternity already; the supernatural is only the natural misnamed. As he lay face down on the grass, seizing it with both hands, he longed for death, to be burned on a pyre of pine wood on a high hill, to have his ashes scattered wide and broadcast, to be thrown into the space he longed for while living, but he feared that such a luxury of resolution into the elements would be too costly. Thus his naked mind, close against naked mother Nature, wrested from her the conviction of soul, immortality, deity, under conditions as primitive as those of the cave man, and his most repeated prayer was, "Give me the deepest soul life."

In other moods he felt the world outré-human, and his mind could by no twist be fitted to the cosmos. Ugly, designless creatures caused him to cease to look for deity in nature, where all happens by chance. He at length concluded there is something higher than soul and above deity, and better than God, for which he searched and labored. He found favorite thinking places, to which he made pilgrimages, where he "felt out into the depths of the ether." His frame could not bear the labor his heart demanded. Work of body was his meat and drink. "Never have I had enough of it. I wearied long before I was satisfied, and weariness did not bring a cessation of desire, the thirst was still there. I rode; I used the ax; I split tree-trunks with wedges; my arms tired, but my spirit remained fresh and chafed against the physical weariness." Had he been indefinitely stronger, he would have longed for more strength. He was often out of doors all day and often half the night; wanted more sunshine; wished the day was sixty hours long; took pleasure in braving the cold so that it should be not life's destroyer but its renewer. Yet he abhorred asceticism. He wrestled with the problem of the origin of his soul and its destiny, but could find no solution; revolted at the assertion that all is designed for the best; "a man of intellect and humanity could cause everything to happen in an infinitely superior manner." He discovered that no one ever died of old age, but only of disease; that we do not even know what old age would be like; found that his soul is infinite, but lies in abeyance; that we are murdered by our ancestors and must roll back the tide of death; that a hundredth part of man's labor would suffice for his support; that idleness is no evil; that in the future nine-tenths of the time will be leisure, and to that end he will work with all his heart. "I was not more than eighteen when an inner and esoteric meaning began to come to me from all the visible universe, and indefinable aspirations filled me."

Interesting as is this document, it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the seventeen years which intervened between the beginning of these experiences and their final record, coupled with the perhaps unconscious tendency toward literary effect, detract more or less from their value as documents of adolescent nature.

Mr. H. Fielding, author of *The Soul of a People*, has since written a book¹ in which, beginning with many definitions of Christianity, weighing the opinion of those who think all our advance is made because of, against those who think it in spite of Christianity, he proceeds to give the story of a boy, probably himself, who till twelve was almost entirely reared by women and with children younger than himself.

He was sickly, and believed not in the Old but in the New Testament; in the Sermon on the Mount, which he supposed all accepted and lived by; that war and wealth were bad, and learning apt to be a snare; that the ideal life was that of a poor curate, working hard and unhappy. At twelve he went to a boarding-school, passed from a woman's world into a man's, out of the New Testament into the Old, out of dreams into reality. War was a glorious opportunity, and all followed the British victories, which were announced publicly. Big boys were going to Sandhurst or Woolwich; there were parties; and the school code never turned the other cheek. Wars were God's storms, stirring stagnant natures to new life; wealth was worshiped; certain lies were an honor; knowledge was an extremely desirable thing—all this was at first new and delightful, but extremely wicked. Sunday was the only other Old Testament rule, but was then forgotten. Slowly a repugnance of religion in all its forms arose. He felt his teachers hypocrites; he raised no alarm, "for he was hardly conscious that his anchor had dragged or that he had lost hold" of it forever. At eighteen he read Darwin and found that if he were right Genesis was wrong; man had risen, not fallen; if a part was wrong, the whole was. If God made the world, the devil seemed to rule it; prayer can not influence him; the seven days of creation were periods, Heaven knows how long. Why did all profess and no one believe religion? Why is God so stern and yet so partial, and how about the Trinity? Then explanations were given. Heaven grew repulsive, as a place for the poor, the maimed, the stupid, the childish, and those unfit for earth generally.

Faiths came from the East. "The North has originated only Thor, Odin, Balder, Valkyres." The gloom and cold drive man into himself; do not open him. In the East one can live in quiet solitude, with no

¹ *The Hearts of Men*. London, 1891, p. 324.

effort, close to nature. The representatives of all faiths wear ostentatiously their badges, pray in public, and no one sneers at all religions. Oriental faiths have no organization; there is no head of Hinduism, Buddhism, or hardly of Mohammedanism. There are no missions, but religion grows rankly from a rich soil, so the boy wrote three demands: a reasonable theory of the universe, a workable and working code of conduct, and a promise of something desirable hereafter. So he read books and tried to make a system.

On a hill, in a thunder-storm in the East, he realized how Thor was born. Man fears thunder; it seems the voice of a greater man. Deny eyes, legs, and body of the Deity, and nothing is left. God as an abstract spirit is unthinkable, but Buddhism offers us no God, only law. Necessity, blind force, law, and a free personal will, that is alternative. Freedom limits omnipotence; the two can never mix. "The German Emperor's God, clanking round the heavenly mansions wearing a German *Pickelhaube* and swearing German oaths," is not satisfactory. Man's God is what he admires most in himself; he can be propitiated, hence atonement; you can not break a law, but you can study it. Inquiry, not submission, is the attitude. Perhaps both destiny and freedom are true, but truth is for the sake of light.

Thor had no moral code; the Greeks were unmoral. Jehovah at first asked only fear, reverence, and worship. This gives no guide to life. Most codes are directed against a foe and against pain. Truth, mercy, courtesy—these were slowly added to reverence; then sanitary rules, hence castes. Two codes, those of Christ and Buddha, tower above all others. They are the same in praising not wealth, greatness, or power, but purity, renunciation of the world, as if one fitted one's self for one by being unfitted for the other world.

Is heaven a bribe? Its ideals are those of children, of girl angels, white wings, floating dresses, no sheep, but lambs. "Surely there is nothing in all the world so babyish." One can hardly imagine a man with a deep voice, with the storm of life beating his soul, amid those baby faces. If happiness in any act or attitude is perfect, it will last forever. Where is due the weariness or satiety? But if happiness be perfect, this is impossible; so life would be monotony akin to annihilation. But life is change, and change is misery. There is effort here, but there will be none in the great peace that passes understanding; no defeat, therefore no victory; no friends, because no enemies; no joyous meetings, because no farewells. It is the shadows and the dark mysteries that sound the depths of our hearts. No man that ever lived, if told that he could be young again or go to any heaven, would choose the latter. Men die for many things, but all fear the beyond. Thus no religion gives us an intelligible First Cause, a code or a heaven that we want. The most religious man is the peasant listening to the angelus, putting out a little *ghi* for his God; the woman crying in the pagoda. Thus we can only turn to the hearts of men for the truth of religion.

Anthony Trollope's autobiography is pitiful. He was poor and disliked by most of his masters and treated with ignominy by his fellow pupils.

He describes himself as always in disgrace. At fifteen he walked three miles each way twice a day to and from school. As a sizar he seemed a wretched farmer's boy, reeking from the dunghill, sitting next the sons of big peers. All were against him, and he was allowed to join no games, and learned, he tells us, absolutely nothing but a little Greek and Latin. Once only, goaded to desperation, he rallied and whipped a bully. The boy was never able to overcome the isolation of his school position, and while he coveted popularity with an eagerness which was almost mean, and longed exceedingly to excel in cricket or with the racquet, was allowed to know nothing of them. He remembers at nineteen never to have had a lesson in writing, arithmetic, French, or German. He knew his masters by their ferules and they him. He believes that he has "been flogged oftener than any human being alive." "It was just possible to obtain five scourgings in one day at Winchester, and I have often boasted that I have obtained them all." Prizes were distributed prodigally, but he never got one. For twelve years of tuition, he says, "I do not remember that I ever knew a lesson."

At this age he describes himself as "an idle, desolate hanger-on . . . without an idea of a career or a profession or a trade," but he was tolerably happy because he could fancy himself in love with pretty girls and had been removed from the real misery of school, but had not a single aspiration regarding his future. Three of his household were dying of consumption, and his mother was day nurse, night nurse, and divided her time between pill-boxes and the ink-bottle, for when she was seventy-six she had written one hundred and forty volumes, the first of which was not written till she was fifty.

Gradually the boy became alive to the blighted ambition of his father's life and the strain his mother was enduring, nursing the dying household and writing novels to provide a decent roof for them to die under. Anthony had got his position without an examination; knew no French nor science; was a bad speller and worse writer, and could not have sustained an examination on any subject. Still he could not bear idleness, and was always going about with some castle in the air firmly built in his mind, carrying on for weeks and years the same continuous story; binding himself down to certain laws, proprieties, and unities; always his own hero, excluding everything violently improbable. To this practise, which he calls dangerous and which began six or seven years before he went to the post-office, he ascribes his power to maintain an interest in a fictitious story and to live in an entirely outside imaginative life. During these seven years he acquired a character of irregularity and grew reckless.

Mark Pattison¹ shows us how his real life began in the middle

¹ See his *Memoirs*. London, 1855.

teens, when his energy was "directed to one end, to improve myself"; "to form my own mind; to sound things thoroughly; to be free from the bondage of unreason and the traditional prejudices which, when I first began to think, constituted the whole of my mental fabric." He entered upon life with a "hide-bound and contracted intellect," and depicts "something of the steps by which I emerged from that frozen condition." He believes that to "remember the dreams and confusions of childhood and never to lose the recollection of the curiosity and simplicity of that age, is one of the great gifts of the poetic character," although this, he tells us, was extraordinarily true of George Sand, but not of himself. From the age of twelve on, a Fellowship at Oriel was the ideal of his life, and although he became a commoner there at seventeen, his chief marvel is that he was so immature and unimpressible.

Mark Rutherford¹ learned little at school, save Latin and good penmanship, but his very life was divided into halves—Sundays and week days—and he reflects at some length upon the immense dangers of the early teens; the physiological and yet subtler psychic penalties of error; callousness to fine pleasures; hardening of the conscience; and deplores the misery which a little instruction might have saved him. At fourteen he underwent conversion, understood in his sect to be a transforming miracle, releasing higher and imprisoning lower powers. He compares it to the saving of a mind from vice by falling in love with a woman who is adored, or the reclamation of a young woman from idleness and vanity by motherhood. But as a boy he was convinced of many things which were mere phrases, and attended prayer-meetings for the clanship of being marked off from the world and of walking home with certain girls. He learned to say in prayer that there was nothing good in him; that he was rotten and filthy and his soul a mass of putrefying sores, but no one took him at his word and expelled him from society, but thought the better of him. Soon he began to study theology, but found no help in suppressing tempestuous lust, in understanding the Bible, or getting his doubts answered, and all the lectures seemed irrelevant chattering. An infidel was a monster whom he had rarely ever seen. At nineteen he began to preach, but his heart was untouched till he read Wordsworth's lyrical ballads, and this recreated a living God for him, melted his heart to tears, and made him long for companionship; its effect was instantly seen in his preaching, and made him soon slightly suspected as heretical.²

¹ See his *Autobiography*, edited by Reuben Shapcott. 2 vols. London, 1881.

² The rest of the two volumes is devoted to his further life of a dissenting minister, who later became something of a literary man; relating how he was slowly driven to leave his little church, how he outgrew and broke with the girl to whom he was engaged, whom he marvelously met and married when both were well on in years, and how strangely he was influenced by the free-thinker Mardon and his remarkable daughter. All in all it is a rare study of emancipation.

John Addington Symonds, in his biography, describes his "insect-like" devotion to creed in the green infancy of ritualism. In his early teens at boarding-school he and his mates, with half sincerity, followed a classmate to compline, donned surplices, tossed censers, arranged altars in their studies, bought bits of painted glass for their windows, and illuminated crucifixes with gold dust and vermilion. When he was confirmed, this was somewhat of an epoch. Preparation was like a plowshare, although it turned up nothing valuable, and stimulated esthetic and emotional ardor. In a dim way he felt God near, but he did not learn to fling the arms of the soul in faith around the cross of Christ. Later the revelation he found in Plato removed him farther from boyhood. He fell in love with gray Gothic churches, painted glass, organ lofts, etc.

Walter Pater has described phases of ferment, perhaps largely his own, in the character of Florian Deleal; his rapture of the red hawthorn blossoms, "absolutely the reddest of all things," an experience with which all red things in art later reminded him; his times of "seemingly exclusive predominance of interest in beautiful physical things, a kind of tyranny of the senses"; and his later absorbing efforts to estimate the proportion of the sensuous and ideal, assigning most importance to sensible vehicles and occasions; associating all thoughts with touch and sight as a link between himself and things, till he became more and more "unable to care for or think of soul but as in an actual body"; comforted in the contemplation of death by the thought of flesh turning to violets and almost oppressed by the pressure of the sensible world, his longings for beauty intensifying his fear of death. He loved to gaze on dead faces in the Paris Morgue, although the haunt of them made the sunshine sickly for days, and his long fancy that they had not really gone nor were quite motionless, but led a secret, half fugitive life, freer by night, and perhaps dodging about in their old haunts with no great good-will toward the living, made him by turns pity and hate the ghosts who came back in the wind, beating at the doors. His religious nature gradually yielded to a mystical belief in Bible personages in some indefinite place as the reflexes and patterns of our nobler self, whose companionship made the world more satisfying. There was "a constant substitution of the typical for the actual," and angels might be met anywhere. "A deep mysticity brooded over real meetings and partings," marriages, and many acts and accidents of life. "The very colors of things became themselves weighty with meanings," or "full of penitence and peace." "For a time he walked through the world in a sustained, not unpleasurable awe generated by the habitual recognition, beside every circumstance and event of life, of its celestial correspondent."

In D. C. Boulger's *Life of General Charles Gordon*¹ he records how, like Nelson Clive, his hero was prone to boys' escapades and outbreaks that often made him the terror of his superiors. He was

¹ London, 1896, vol. I.

no bookworm, but famous as the possessor of high spirits, very often involved in affairs that necessitated discipline, and seemed greatly out of harmony with the popular idea of the ascetic of Mount Carmel. As a schoolboy he made wonderful squirts "that would wet you through in a minute." One Sunday twenty-seven panes of glass in a large storehouse were broken with screws shot through them by his cross-bow "for ventilation." Ringing bells and pushing young boys in, butting an unpopular officer severely in the stomach with his head, and taking the punishment, hitting a bully with a clothes-brush and being put back six months in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich; these are the early outcrops of one side of his dual character. Although more soldier than saint, he had a very cheery, genial side. He was always ready to take even the severest punishment for all his scrapes due to excessive high spirits. When one of his superiors declared that he would never make an officer, he felt his honor touched, and his vigorous and expressive reply was to tear the epaulets from his shoulders and throw them at his superior's feet. He had already developed some of the rather moody love of seclusion that was marked later, but religion did not strike him deeply enough to bring him into the Church until he was twenty-one, when he took his first sacrament. On one occasion he declined promotion within his reach because he would have had to pass a friend to get it. He acted generally on his impulses, which were perhaps better than his judgments, took great pleasure in corresponding on religious topics with his older sister, and early formed the habit of excessive smoking which gravely affected his health later. His was the rare combination of inner repose and confidence, interrupted by spells of gaiety.

Williamson, in his *Life of Holman Hunt*, tells us that at thirteen he was removed from school as inapt in study. He began to spend his time in drawing in his copybooks. He was made clerk to an auctioneer, who fortunately encouraged his passion, and at sixteen was with a calico printer. Here he amused himself by drawing flies on the window which his employer tried to brush off. There was the greatest home opposition to his studying art. After being rejected twice, he was admitted at seventeen to the Academy school as a probationer, and the next year, in 1845, as a student. Here he met Millais and Rossetti and was able to relieve the strain on his mind which the worry of his father concerning his course caused him, and very soon his career began.

At thirteen Fitzjames Stephen¹ roused himself to thrash a big boy who had long bullied him, and became a fighter. In his sixteenth year he grew nearly five inches, but was so shy and timid at Eton that he says, "I was like a sensible grown-up woman among a crowd of rough boys"; but in the reaction to the long abuse his mind was steeled against oppression, tyranny, and every kind of unfairness. He read Paine's *Age of Reason*, and went "through the Bible as a

¹ See his *Life*. By his brother, Leslie Stephen. London, 1895.

man might go through a wood, cutting down trees. The priests can stick them in again, but they will not make them grow."

Dickens has given us some interesting adolescents. Miss Dingwall, in *Sketches by Boz*, "very sentimental and romantic"; the tempery young Nickleby, who at nineteen thrashed Squeers; Barnaby Rudge, idiotic and very muscular; Joe Willet, persistently treated as a boy till he ran away to join the army and married Dolly Varden, perhaps the most exuberant, good-humored, and beautiful girl in all the Dickens gallery; Martin Chuzzlewit, who also ran away, as did David Copperfield, perhaps the most true to adolescence because largely reminiscent of the author's own life; Steerforth, a stranger from home and his victim, Little Emily; and to some extent Sam Weller, Dick Swiveller, the Marchioness, young Podsnap, the Artful Dodger and Charley Bates, while *Oliver Twist*, Little Nell, and Little Dorrit, Joe and Turveydrop in *Bleak House*, and Paul Dombey, young as they were, show the beginning of the pubescent change. Most of his characters, however, are so overdrawn and caricatured as to be hardly true to life.¹

In the *Romance of John Inglesant*, by J. H. Shorthouse, we have a remarkable picture of an unusually gifted youth, who played an important rôle in the days of Cromwell and King Charles, and who was long poised in soul between the Church of Rome and the English party. He was very susceptible to the fascination of superstition, romance, and day-dreaming, and at eleven absorbed his master's Rosicrucian theories of spiritual existence where spirits held converse with each other and with mankind. A mystic Platonism, which taught that Pindar's story of the Argo was only a recipe for the philosopher's stone, fascinated him at fourteen. The philosophy of obedience and of the subjection of reason to authority was early taught him, and he sought to live from within, hearing only the divine law, as the worshipers of Cybele heard only the flutes. His twin brother Eustace was an active worldling, and soon he followed him to court as page to the Queen, but delighted more and more in wandering apart and building air castles. For a time he was entirely swayed and his life directed by a Jesuit Father, who taught him the crucifix and the rosary. At sixteen the doctrine of divine illumination fascinated him. He struggled to find the path of true devotion; abandoned him-

¹ See the very impressive account of Dickens's characterization of childhood and youth, and of his great but hitherto inadequately recognized interest and influence as an educator. By James L. Hughes, New York, 1907, p. 319.

self to extremely ritualistic forms of worship; dabbled a little in alchemy and astrology to help develop the divine nature within him and to attain the beatific vision. Soon he was introduced to the "Protestant nunnery," as it was called, where the venerable Mr. Ferran, a friend of George Herbert's, was greatly taken by Inglesant's accomplishments and grace of manner. Various forms of extremely High Church yet Protestant worship were celebrated here each day with great devotion, until he became disgusted with Puritanism and craved to participate in the office of mass. At this point, however, he met Mr. Hobbes, whose rude but forcible condemnation of papacy restrained him from casting his lot with it. At seventeen he saw one night a real apparition of the just executed Strafford. The last act of his youth, which we can note here, was soon after he was twenty, when he fell in love with the charming and saintly Mary Collet. The rough Puritan Thorne had made her proposals at which she revolted, but she and Inglesant confessed love to each other; she saw, however, that they had a way of life marked out for themselves by an inner impulse and light. This calling they must follow and abandon love, and now John plunged into the war on the side of the King.

W. J. Stillman¹ has written with unusual interest and candor the story of his own early life. As a boy he was frenzied at the first sight of the sea; caught the whip and lashed the horses in an unconscious delirium, and always remembered this as one of the most vivid experiences of his life. He had a period of nature worship. His first trout was a delirium, and he danced about wildly and furiously. He relates his very vivid impressions of the religious orthodoxy in which he was reared, especially revival sermons; his occasional falsehoods to escape severe punishment; his baptism at ten or eleven in a river in midwinter; the somberness of his intellectual life, which was long very apathetic; his phenomenal stupidity for years; his sudden insurrections in which he thrashed bullies at school; his fear that he should be sent home in disgrace for bad scholarship; and how at last, after seven years of dulness, at the age of fourteen, "the mental fog broke away suddenly, and before the term ended I could construe the Latin in less time than it took to recite it, and the demonstrations of Euclid were as plain and clear as a fairy story. My memory came back so distinctly that I could recite long poems after a single reading, and no member of the class passed a more brilliant examination at the end of the term

¹ *The Autobiography of a Journalist.* 2 vols. Boston, 1901.

than I; and at the end of the second term I could recite the whole of Legendre's geometry, plane and spherical, from beginning to end without a question, and the class examination was recorded as the most remarkable which the academy had witnessed for many years. I have never been able to conceive an explanation of this curious phenomenon, which I record only as of possible interest to some one interested in psychology."

A. Bronson Alcott¹ was the son of a Connecticut farmer. He began a diary at twelve; aspired vainly to enter Yale, and after much restlessness at the age of nineteen left home with two trunks for Virginia to peddle on foot, hoping to teach school. Here he had a varying and often very hard experience for years.

Horace Bushnell's² parents represented the Episcopal and liberal Congregational Church. His early life was spent on a farm and in attending a country academy. He became profoundly interested in religion in the early teens and developed extreme interest in nature. At seventeen, while tending a carding machine, he wrote a paper on Calvinism. At nineteen he united with the church, and entered Yale, when he was twenty-one, in 1823. Later he tried to teach school but left it, declaring he would rather lay stone wall, worked on a journal but withdrew, finding it a terrible life, studied law for a year, became a tutor at Yale, experienced a reconversion and entered the ministry.

A well-known American, who wishes his name withheld, writes me of his youth as follows:

"First came the love of emotion and lurid romance reading. My mind was full of adventure, dreams of underground passages, and imprisoned beauties whom I rescued. I wrote a story in red ink, which I never read, but a girl friend did, and called it magnificent. The girl fever, too, made me idealize first one five years older than I, later another three years older, and still later one of my own age. I would have eaten dirt for each of them for a year or two; was extremely gallant and the hero of many romances for two, but all the time so bashful that I scarcely dared speak to one of them, and no schoolmate ever suspected it all. Music also became a craze at fourteen. Before, I had hated lessons, now I was thrilled and would be a musician, despite my parents' protests. I practised the piano furiously; wrote music and copied stacks of it; made a list of several hundred pieces and tunes, including everything musical I knew; would imagine a crowded hall, where I played and swayed with fine airs. The vast assembly applauded and would not let me go, but all the time it was a simple piece and I was a very ordinary player. At fifty years this is still a relic. I now in hours of fatigue pound the piano and dream-

¹ See his *Life and Philosophy*, by Sanborn and Harris.

² Theodore F. Munger: *Life of Horace Bushnell*. Boston, 1899.

ily imagine dazed and enchanted audiences. Then came oratory, and I glowed and thrilled in declaiming Webster's Reply to Hayne, *Thanatopsis*, Byron's *Darkness*, Patrick Henry, and best of all *The Maniac*, which I spouted in a fervid way wearing a flaming red necktie. I remember a fervid scene with myself on a high solitary hill with a bald summit two miles from home, where I once went because I had been blamed. I tried to sum myself up, inventory my good and bad points. It was Sunday, and I was keyed up to a frenzy of resolve, prayer, idealization of life; all grew all in a jumble. My resolve to go to college was clinched then and there, and that hill will always remain my Pisgah and Moriah, Horeb and Sinai all in one. I paced back and forth in the wind and shouted, 'I will make people know and revere me; I will do something'; and called everything to witness my vow that I never again would visit this spot till all was fulfilled." "Alas!" he says, "I have never been there since. Once, to a summer party who went, I made excuse for not keeping this rendezvous. It was too sacramental. Certainly it was a very deep and never-to-be-forgotten experience there all alone, when something of great moment to me certainly took place in my soul."

In the biography of Frederick Douglass¹ we are told that when he was about thirteen he began to feel deeply the moral yoke of slavery and to seek means of escaping it. He became interested in religion, was converted, and dreamed of and prayed for liberty. With great ingenuity he extracted knowledge of the alphabet and reading from white boys of his acquaintance. At sixteen, under a brutal master he revolted and was beaten until he was faint from loss of blood, and at seventeen he fought and whipped the brutal overseer Covey, who would have invoked the law, which made death the punishment for such an offense, but for shame of having been worsted by a negro boy and from the reflection that there was no profit from a dead slave. Only at twenty did he escape into the new world of freedom.

Jacob Riis² "fell head over heels in love with sweet Elizabeth" when he was fifteen and she thirteen. His "courtship proceeded at a tumultuous pace, which first made the town laugh, then put it out of patience and made some staid matrons express the desire to box my ears soundly." She played among the lumber where he worked, and he watched her so intently that he scarred his shinbone with an adze he should have been minding. He cut off his forefinger with an ax when she was dancing on a beam near by, and once fell off a roof when craning his neck to see her go round a corner. At another time he ordered her father off the dance-floor, because he tried to take his daughter home a few minutes before the appointed hour of midnight. Young as he was, he was large and tried to run away to join the army, but finally went to Copenhagen to serve his apprenticeship with a builder, and here had an interview with Hans Christian Anderson.

¹ By C. W. Chestnutt.

² *The Making of an American.*

Ellery Sedgwick tells us that at thirteen the mind of Thomas Paine ran on stories of the sea which his teacher had told him, and he attempted to enlist on the privateer *Terrible*. He was restless at home for years, and shipped on a trading vessel at nineteen.

Indeed, modern literature in our tongue abounds in this element, from Childe Harold to the second and third long chapters in Mrs. Ward's *David Grieve*, ending with his engagement to Lucy Purcell; Thackeray's Arthur Pendennis and his characteristic love of the far older and scheming Fanny Fotheringay; David in Allen's *Reign of Law*, who read Darwin, was expelled from the Bible College and the Church, and finally was engaged to Gabrielle; and scores more might be enumerated. There is even Sonny,¹ who, rude as he was and poorly as he did in all his studies, at the same age when he began to keep company, "tallered" his hair, tied a bow of ribbon to the buggy whip, and grew interested in manners, passing things, putting on his coat and taking off his hat at table, began to study his menagerie of pet snakes, toads, lizards, wrote John Boroughs, helped him and got help in return, took to observing, and finally wrote a book about the forest and its occupants, all of which is very *bien trouvé* if not historic truth.

Two singular reflections always rearise in reading Goethe's autobiographical writings: first, that both the age and the place, with its ceremonies, festivals, great pomp and stirring events in close quarters in the little province where he lived, were especially adapted to educate children and absorb them in externals; and, second, that this wonderful boy had an extreme propensity for moralizing and drawing lessons of practical service from all about him. This is no less manifest in Wilhelm Meister's apprenticeship and travels, which supplements the autobiography. Both together present a very unique type of adolescence, the elaborate story of which defies epitome. From the puppet craze well on into his precocious university life it was his passion to explore the widest ranges of experience and then to reflect, moralize, or poetize upon them. Perhaps no one ever studied the nascent stages of his own life and elaborated their every incident with such careful observation and analysis. His peculiar diathesis enabled him to conserve their freshness on to full maturity, when he gave them literary form. Most lack power to fully utilize their own experience even for practical self-knowledge and guidance, but with Goethe nothing was wasted from which self-culture could be extracted.

¹ Sonny. Ruth McEnery Stuart. New York, 1896.

Goethe's first impression of female loveliness was of a girl named Gretchen, who served wine one evening, and whose face and form followed him for a long time. Their meetings always gave him a thrill of pleasure, and though his love was like many first loves, very spiritual and awakened by goodness and beauty, it gave a new brightness to the whole world, and to be near her seemed to him an indispensable condition of his being. Her *fiancé* was generally with her, and Goethe experienced a shock in finding that she had become a milliner's assistant, for although, like all natural boys of aristocratic families, he loved common people, this interest was not favored by his parents. The night following the coronation day several were compelled to spend in chairs, and he and his Gretchen with others slept, she with her head upon his shoulder, until all the others had awakened in the morning. At last they parted at her door, and for the first and last time they kissed but never met again, although he often wept in thinking of her. He was terribly affronted to fully realize that, although only two years older than himself, she should have regarded him as a child. He tried to strip her of all loving qualities and think her odious, but her image hovered over him. The sanity of instinct innate in youth prompted him to lay aside as childish the foolish habit of weeping and railing, and his mortification that she regarded him somewhat in the style of a nurse gradually helped to work his cure.

He was very fond of his own name, and, like young and uneducated people, wrote or carved it anywhere; later placed near it that of a new love, Annette, and afterward on finding the tree he shed tears, melted toward her, and made an idyl. He was also seized with a passion of teasing her and dominating over her devotedness with wanton and tyrannical caprice, venting upon her the ill humor of his disappointments, and grew absurdly jealous and lost her after she had borne with him with incredible patience and after terrible scenes with her by which he gained nothing. Frenzied with his loss, he began to abuse his physical nature and was only saved from illness by the healing power of his poetic talent; the Lover's Caprice was written with the impetus of a boiling passion. In the midst of many serious events, a reckless humor which was due to excess of life developed which made him feel himself superior to the moment, and even to court danger. He played tricks, although rarely with premeditation. Later he mused much upon the transient nature of love and the mutability of character; the extent to which the senses could be indulged within the bounds of morality; he sought to rid himself of all that troubled him by writing song or epigram about it, which made him seem frivolous and prompted one friend to seek to subdue him by means of church forms, which he had severed on coming to Leipzig. By degrees he felt an epoch approaching when all respect for authority was to vanish, and he became suspicious and even despairing with regard to the best individuals he had known before, and grew chummy with a young tutor whose jokes and fooleries were incessant. His disposition fluctuated between gaiety and melancholy, and Rousseau attracted him. Meanwhile his health

declined until a long illness, which began with a hemorrhage, caused him to oscillate for days between life and death, and convalescence, generally so delightful, was marred by a serious tumor. His father's disposition was stern, and he could become passionate and bitter, and his mother's domesticity made her turn to religion, so that on coming home he formed the acquaintance of a religious circle. Again Goethe was told by a hostile child that he was not the true son of his father. This inoculated him with a disease that long lurked in his system and prompted various indirect investigations to get at the truth, during which he compared all distinguished guests with his own physiognomy to detect his own likeness.

Up to the Leipzig period he had great joy in wandering unknown, unconscious of self, but he soon began to torment himself with an almost hypertrophied fancy that he was attracting much attention; that others' eyes were turned on his person to fix it in their memories; that he was scanned and found fault with, and hence he developed a love of the country, of the woods and solitary places, where he could be hedged in and separated from all the world. Here he began to throw off his former habit of looking at things from the art standpoint and to take pleasure in natural objects for their own sake. His mother had almost grown up to consciousness in her two oldest children, and his first disappointment in love turned his thought all the more affectionately toward her and his sister, a year younger. He was long consumed with amazement over the newly awakening sense impulse that took intellectual forms and the mental needs that clothed themselves in sense images. He fell to building air castles of opposition lecture courses and gave himself up to many dreams of ideal university conditions. He first attended lectures diligently, but suffered much harm from being too advanced; learned a great deal that he could not regulate, and was thereby made uncomfortable; grew interested in the fit of his clothes, of which hitherto he had been careless; he was in despair at the uncertainty of his own taste and judgment, and almost feared he must make a complete change of mind, renouncing what he had hitherto learned, and so one day in great contempt for his past burned up his poetry, sketches, etc.

He had learned to value and love the Bible, and owed his moral culture to it. Its events and symbols were deeply stamped upon him, so without being a pietist he was greatly moved at the scoffing spirit toward it which he met at the university. From youth he had stood on good terms with God, and at times he had felt that he had some things to forgive God for not having given better assistance to his infinite good-will. Under all this influence he turned to cabalism and became interested in crystals and the microcosm and macrocosm, and fell into the habit of despairing what he had been and believed just before. He conceived a kind of hermetical or neoplatonic godhead creating in more and more eccentric circles, until the last, which rose in contradiction, was Lucifer to whom creation was committed. He first of all imagined in detail an angelic host, and finally a whole theology was

wrought out *in petto*. He used a gilt ornamented music-stand as a kind of altar with fumigating pastils for incense, where each morning God was approached by offerings until one day a conflagration put a sudden end to these celebrations.

Hans Andersen,¹ the son of a poor shoemaker, taught in a charity school at the dawn of puberty; vividly animated Bible stories from pictures painted on the wall; was dreamy and absent-minded; told continued stories to his mates; at confirmation vowed he would be famous, and finally at fourteen left home for Copenhagen, where he was violently stage-struck and worked his way from friendship with the bill-poster to the stage as page, shepherd, etc.; called on a famous dancer, who scorned him, and then, feeling that he had no one but God to depend on, prayed earnestly and often. For nearly a year, until his voice broke, he was a fine singer. He wet with his tears the eyes of a portrait of a heartless man that he might feel for him. He played with a puppet theater and took a childish delight in decking the characters with gay remnants that he begged from shops; wrote several plays which no one would accept; stole into an empty theater one New Year's day to pray aloud on the middle of the stage; shouted with joy; hugged and kissed a beech-tree till people thought him insane; abhorred the thought of apprenticeship to Latin as he did to that of a trade, which was a constant danger; and was one of the most dreamy and sentimental, and by spells religious and prayerful, of youth.

Georg Ebers² remembered as a boy of eleven the revolution of '48 in Berlin, soon after which he was placed in Froebel's school at Keilhau. This great teacher, with his noble associates, Middendorf, Barop, and Langekhal, lived with the boys; told the stirring stories of their own lives as soldiers in the war of liberation; led their pupils on long excursions in vacation, often lasting for months, and gave much liberty to the boys, who were allowed to haze not only their new mates but new teachers. This transfer from the city to the country roused a veritable passion in the boy, who remained here till he was fifteen. Trees and cliffs were climbed, collections made, the Saale by moonlight and the lofty Steiger at sunset were explored. There were swimming and skating and games, and the maxim of the school, "*Friede, Freude, Freiheit*," was lived up to. The boys hung on their teachers for stories. The teachers took their boys into their confidence for all their own literary aims, loves, and ideals. One had seen the corpse of Körner and another knew Prohaska. "The Roman postulate that knowledge should be imparted to boys according to a thoroughly tested method approved by the mature human intellect and which seems most useful to it for later life" was the old system of sacrificing the interests of the child for those of the man. Here childhood was to live itself out completely and naturally into an ever-renewed paradise. The

¹ The Story of My Life.

² The Story of My Life from Childhood to Manhood.

temperaments, dispositions, and characters of each of the sixty boys were carefully studied and recorded. Some of these are still little masterpieces of psychological penetration, and this was made the basis of development. The extreme Teutonism cultivated by wrestling, shooting, and fencing, giving each a spot of land to sow, reap, and shovel, and all in an atmosphere of adult life, made an environment that fitted the transition period as well as any that the history of education affords. Every tramp and battle were described in a book by each boy. When at fifteen Ebers was transferred to the Kottbus Gymnasium, he felt like a colt led from green pastures to the stable, and the period of effervescence made him almost possessed by a demon, so many sorts of follies did he commit. He wrote "a poem of the world," fell in love with an actress older than himself, became known as foolhardy for his wild escapades, and only slowly sobered down.

In Gottfried Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich*, the author, whom R. M. Meyer calls "the most eminent literary German of the nineteenth century," reviews the memories of his early life. This autobiography is a plain and very realistic story of a normal child, and not adulterated with fiction like Goethe's or with psychoses like Rousseau or Bashkirtseff. He seems a boy like all other boys, and his childhood and youth were in no wise extraordinary. The first part of this work, which describes his youth up to the age of eighteen, is the most important, and everything is given with remarkable fidelity and minuteness. It is a tale of little things. All the friendships and loves and impulses are there, and he is fundamentally selfish and utilitarian; God and nature were one, and only when his beloved Anna died did he wish to believe in immortality. He, too, as a child, found two kinds of love in his heart—the ideal and the sensual, very independent—the one for a young and innocent girl and the other for a superb young woman years older than he, pure, although the personification of sense. He gives a rich harvest of minute and sagacious observations about his strange simultaneous loves; the peculiar tastes of food; his day-dream period; and his rather prolonged habit of lying, the latter because he had no other vent for invention. He describes with great regret his leaving school at so early an age; his volcanic passion of anger; his self-distrust; his periods of abandon; his passion to make a success of art though he did not of life; his spells of self-despair and cynicism; his periods of desolation in his single life; his habit of story-telling; his wrestling with the problem of theology and God; the conflict between his philosophy and his love of the girls, etc.

From a private school in Leipzig, where he had shown all a boy's tact in finding what his masters thought the value of each subject they taught; where he had joined in the vandalism of using a battering-ram to break a way to the hated science apparatus and to destroy it, feeling that the classical writers were overpraised; and where at the age of sixteen he had appeared several times in public as a reciter of his own poems, Max Müller returned to Leipzig and entered upon the freedom of university life there at the age of seventeen. For years his chief

enjoyment was music.¹ He played the piano well, heard everything he could in concert or opera, was an oratorio tenor, and grew more and more absorbed in music, so that he planned to devote himself altogether to it and also to enter a musical school at Dessau, but nothing came of it. At the university he saw little of society, was once incarcerated for wearing a club ribbon, and confesses that with his boon companions he was guilty of practises which would now bring culprits into collision with authorities. He fought three duels, participated in many pranks and freakish escapades, but nevertheless attended fifty-three different courses of lectures in three years. When Hegelism was the state philosophy, he tried hard to understand it, but dismissed it with the sentiments expressed by a French officer to his tailor, who refused to take the trousers he had ordered to be made very tight because they did not fit so closely that he could not get into them. Darwin attracted him, yet the wildness of his followers repelled. He says, "I confess I felt quite bewildered for a time and began to despair altogether of my reasoning powers." He wonders how young minds in German universities survive the storms and fogs through which they pass. With bated breath he heard his elders talk of philosophy and tried to lay hold of a word here and there, but it all floated before his mind like mist. Later he had an Hegelian period, but found in Herbart a corrective, and at last decided upon Sanskrit and other ancient languages, because he felt that he must know something that no other knew, and also that the Germans had then heard only the after-chime and not the real striking of the bells of Indian philosophy. From twenty his struggles and his queries grew more definite, and at last, at the age of twenty-two, he was fully launched upon his career in Paris, and later went to Oxford.

At thirteen Wagner² translated about half the *Odyssey* voluntarily; at fourteen began the tragedy which was to combine the grandeur of two of Shakespeare's dramas; at sixteen he tried "his new-fledged musical wings by soaring at once to the highest peaks of orchestral achievement without wasting any time on the humble foot-hills." He sought to make a new departure, and, compared to the grandeur of his own composition, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony appeared like a simple Pleyel Sonata." To facilitate the reading of his astounding score, he wrote it in three kinds of ink—red for strings, green for the woodwind, and black for the brass instruments. He writes that this overture was the climax of his absurdities, and although the audience before which an accommodating orchestra played it were disgusted and the musicians were convulsed with laughter, it made a deep impression upon the author's mind. Even after matriculating at the university he abandoned himself so long to the dissipations common to student life before the reaction came that his relatives feared that he was a good-for-nothing.

¹ My Autobiography, p. 106.

² Wagner and His Works. By Henry T. Finck.

In his *Hannele*, Hauptmann, the dramatist, describes in a kind of dream poem what he supposed to pass through the mind of a dying girl of thirteen or fourteen, who does not wish to live and is so absorbed by the "Brownies of her brain" that she hardly knows whether she is alive on earth or dead in heaven, and who sees the Lord Jesus in the form of the schoolmaster whom she adores. In her closing vision there is a symbolic representation of her own resurrection. To the passionate discussions in Germany, England, and France, whether this character is true to adolescence, we can only answer with an emphatic affirmative; that her heaven abounds in local color and in fairy-tale items, that it is very material, and that she is troubled by fears of sin against the Holy Ghost, is answer enough in an ill-used, starving child with a fevered brain, whose dead mother taught her these things.

Saint-Pierre's *Paul and Virginia* is an attempt to describe budding adolescence in a boy and girl born on a remote island and reared in a state of natural simplicity. The descriptions are sentimental after the fashion of the age in France, and the pathos, which to us smacks of affectation and artificiality, nevertheless has a vein of truth in it. The story really begins when the two children were twelve, and the description of the dawn of love and melancholy in Virginia's heart, for some time concealed from Paul, of her disquiet and piety, of the final frank avowal of eternal love by each, set off by the pathetic separation, and of the undying love, and finally the tragic death and burial of each—all this owes its charm, for the many generations of readers since it was written, to its merits as an essentially true picture of the human heart at this critical age. This work and Rousseau have contributed to give French literature its peculiar cast in its description of this age.

"The first explosions of a combustible constitution" in Rousseau's precocious nature were troublesome, and he felt premature sensations of erotic voluptuousness, but without any sin. He longed "to fall at the feet of an imperious mistress, obey her mandates or implore pardon." He only wanted a lady to become a knight errant. At ten he was passionately devoted to a *Mlle. Vulson*, whom he publicly and tyrannically claimed as his own and would allow no other to approach. He had very different sensuous feelings toward *Mlle. Goton*, with whom his relations were very passionate, though pure. Absolutely under the power of both these mistresses, the effects they produced upon him were in no wise related to each other. The former was a brother's affection with the jealousy of a lover added, but the latter a furious, tigerish, Turkish rage. When told of the former's marriage, in his indignation and heroic fury he swore never more to see a per-

fidious girl. A slightly neurotic vein of prolonged ephebeitis pervades much of his life.

"In order to comprehend a religion," said Renan, "one must have believed in it and have left it." He bade the Church farewell in 1845, emancipated at fifteen, which "is the critical age for faith in French education."¹ He could not "commit the sacrilege of serving a God who still possessed his heart but no longer mastered his reason. Leaving religious illusion behind, he remembered all its magic spells and all its evasions, but also all its charm and all its benefit." He vowed always to love the ideal Jesus, whatever view he took of his nature. Even if he should abandon him, it would be to him a pleasing but most costly sacrifice. He was greatly troubled before he was eighteen by the persistent query, whether or not holding these views he was a Christian; and at this age he was initiated into Goethe and Herder and felt that "he was entering a temple." His confession, really and substantially written in 1848, when he was overflowing with illusions and enthusiasm, seemed to him later, when he saw that his "life had always been governed by a faith which he no longer possessed," the product of an entirely natural state, yet living solely in his fevered intellect. Like Müller, he turned to philology, because he thought it the basis for philosophy.

Pierre Loti's *Story of a Child* was written in the author's old age and contains hardly a fact, but it is one of the best of inner autobiographies, and is nowhere richer than in the last chapters, which bring the author down to the age of fourteen and a half. He vividly describes the new joy at waking, which he began to feel at twelve or thirteen; the clear vision into the bottomless pit of death; the new, marvelous susceptibility to nature as comradeship with boys of his own age was lacking; the sudden desires from pure bravado and perversity to do something unseemly, e. g., making a fly omelet and carrying it in a procession with song; the melting of pewter plates and pouring them into water and salting a wild tract of land with them; organizing a band of miners, whom he led as if with keen scent to the right spot and rediscovered his nuggets, everything being done mysteriously and as a tribal secret. Loti had a new feeling for the haunting music of Chopin, which he had been taught to play but had not been interested in; his mind was inflamed, by a home visit of an older brother, with the idea of going to the South Sea Islands, and this became a long obsession which finally led him to enlist in the navy, dropping, with a beating heart, the momentous letter into the post-office after long misgivings and delays. He had a superficial and a hidden self, the latter somewhat whimsical and perhaps ridiculous, shared only with a few intimate friends for whom he would have let himself be cut into bits. He believes his transition period lasted longer than with the majority of men, and during it he was carried from one extreme to another; had rather eccentric and absurd manners, and touched most of the perilous

¹ Darmesteter: *Selected Essays*, p. 186.

rocks on the voyage of life. He had an early love for an older girl whose name he wrote in cipher on his books, although he felt it a little artificial, but believed it might have developed into a great and true hereditary friendship, continuing that which their ancestors had felt for many generations. The birth of love in his heart was in a dream after having read the forbidden poet, Alfred de Musset. He was fourteen, and in his dream it was a soft, odorous twilight. He walked amid flowers seeking a nameless some one whom he ardently desired, and felt that something strange and wonderful, intoxicating as it advanced, was going to happen. The twilight grew deeper, and behind a rose-bush he saw a young girl with a languorous and mysterious smile, although her forehead and eyes were hidden. As it darkened rather suddenly, her eyes came out, and they were very personal and seemed to belong to some one already much beloved, who had been found with "transports of infinite joy and tenderness." He woke with a start and sought to retain the phantom, which faded. He could not conceive that she was a mere illusion, and as he realized that she had vanished he felt overwhelmed with hopelessness. It was the first stirring "of true love with all its great melancholy and deep mystery, with its overwhelming but sad enchantment—love which like a perfume endows with a fragrance all it touches."

It is, I believe, high time that ephêbic literature should be recognized as a class by itself, and have a place of its own in the history of letters and in criticism. Much of it should be individually prescribed for the reading of the young, for whom it has a singular zest and is a true stimulus and corrective. This stage of life now has what might almost be called a school of its own. Here the young appeal to and listen to each other as they do not to adults, and in a way the latter have failed to appreciate. Again, no biography, and especially no autobiography, should henceforth be complete if it does not describe this period of transformation so all-determining for future life to which it alone can often give the key. To rightly draw the lessons of this age not only saves us from waste ineffable of this rich but crude area of experience, but makes maturity saner and more complete. Lastly, many if not most young people should be encouraged to enough of the confessional private journalism to teach them self-knowledge, for the art of self-expression usually begins now if ever, when it has a wealth of subjective material and needs forms of expression peculiar to itself.

